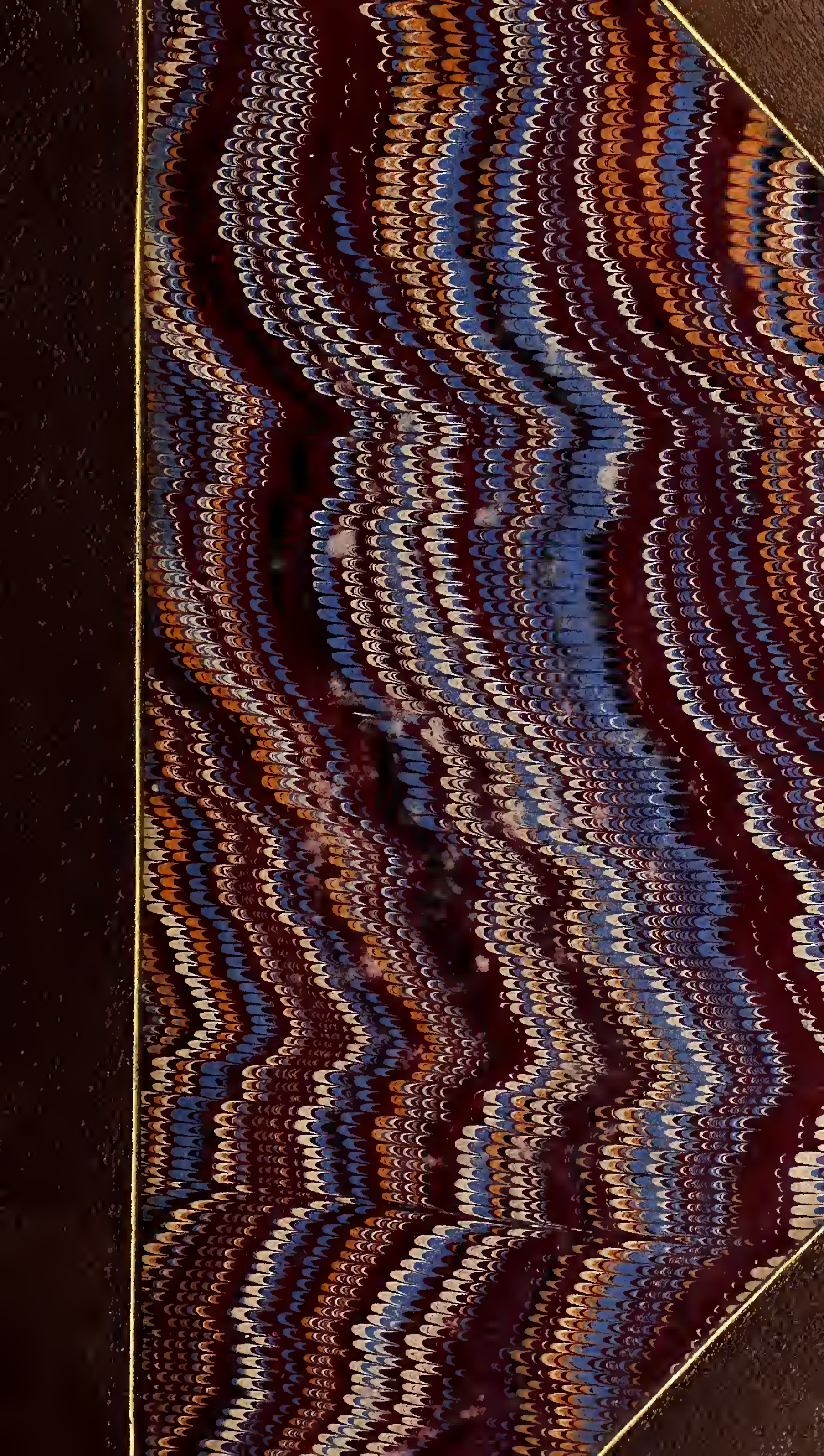

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JOURNAL

OF THE

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

ART. I.—*Notices of the Life of* HENRY THOMAS COLEBROOKE, Esq., *by his Son.*

HENRY THOMAS COLEBROOKE, the subject of this memoir, was born in London, on the 15th June, 1765, and was the youngest of seven children. His father, Sir George Colebrooke, Baronet, was for many years chairman of the East India Company.

As a boy, he was of a quiet retired disposition, seldom mixing in any of the usual amusements of childhood, and was distinguished at an early age among his brothers and sisters for his extreme fondness for reading. In allusion to this, he used to say to them, that by his habits and tastes he was best fitted for the profession of a clergyman, and expressed a strong desire to his father that he might be placed in the church.

He was never at any school, but pursued his studies at his father's house under a tutor, and in the later period of his life he would appeal to this circumstance in his early history as a proof of the superior advantages of a home education. At the age of fifteen, he was as much advanced in his reading as most persons are at the time of leaving the universities. He was well read in the Greek and Roman classics, and deeply so in mathematics, and had mastered the French and German languages. I notice the age of fifteen as being that at which he was parted from his tutor, in consequence of a proposed arrangement for his immediate embarkation for India. The arrangement did not then take effect, and during the remainder of his stay in England (which was more than a year) he pursued his studies alone.

From the age of twelve to sixteen he resided with his family in France. In the spring of 1782, being appointed to a Writership in the Civil Service of Bengal, he proceeded to Portsmouth to embark, and was there at the time that the Royal George sunk at Spithead.

Indeed he might almost be said to have been an eye witness of that event; for being on the beach at the time, his attention was suddenly directed towards the spot where the ship had been, by the abrupt exclamation of some one near him, "Where is the Royal George?"—he turned, and the Royal George had disappeared.

He sailed in a store ship, and in company with the fleet which proceeded to the relief of Gibraltar, the memorable siege of which was then going on. In this as in other voyages he took great interest in the navigation of the ship, and never passed a day without taking an observation; a journal of which he always kept when at sea.

He was long on the voyage, and did not arrive in India until April, 1783. He was received in the house of his brother, Mr. (now Sir Edward) Colebrooke, who had preceded him to that country, and who appears to have found some difficulty in making him shake off the sedentary habits which had grown upon him. In a letter written shortly after his arrival, his brother describes him as having scarcely left his chair since he entered his house. Yet this sedentary disposition was accompanied by some inclinations not usually displayed by persons of so studious a habit. He is described to me by more than one person to have been at this period of life fond of dress; and an early letter shows that he had at that time an inclination towards play, as it alludes to his having conquered a passion for it, which his father feared in him.

After remaining for eight or ten months unemployed, he was placed in a subordinate capacity in the Board of Accounts, and this situation he held during the remainder of his stay at Calcutta. His official duties were light and unimportant, but the society of Calcutta at that time, which is very far from being favourably described in his own letters and in those of his brother, was not such as admitted of his devoting much time to study.

His earlier letters throw but little light on his pursuits. Soon after his arrival, he talks of applying for one of those appointments which his knowledge of the French language and manners rendered him peculiarly fit for. In the same letter, he adds, in answer to a question of his father, "There is no danger of my applying too intensely to languages. The one, and that the most necessary, Moors[1], by not being written bars all close application. The other, Persian, is too dry to entice, and is so seldom of use that I seek its acquisition very leisurely."

Shortly after this was written, he proposes a plan of study (the

[1] Hindustani.

only proposal of the kind that is contained in any letters written during the first few years of his Indian life.) He writes home for a complete set of the Greek and Roman classics. For the first year his letters are short, and contain little more than a bare recital of passing events. He soon, however, opens on a subject which more particularly marks his feelings, and exhibits him as discontented with his situation as most young men are for some time after their arrival in India. But there were circumstances in the times which rendered the situation of the Company's Civil Service peculiarly uncertain. The odium with which its members were generally regarded at home, which made Burke single out Warren Hastings to suffer for his own and the sins of the body, was then at its height, and the arrangements that were under discussion connected with the constitution of our Indian empire, created an alarm that the East India Company would be deprived of its political patronage, and that, under the excuse of the new measures requiring new men, their old dependants would be made to shift for themselves or turned out to make room for those who were to reap the benefit of the threatened change. Well or ill founded as the fears on this score may have been, his letters clearly show the very general alarm that was entertained. The service, in fact, was in a transition state from the lax habits which the old *régime* had permitted, to those, which under a better organised system have marked their character to the present day.

In this state of uncertainty regarding the future, his letters were filled with gloomy foreboding. At one time he talks of seeking a new profession; at another of returning to Europe, and again he proposes to turn farmer and settle for a while in the country. But his feelings will be better understood after reading the following extracts from his letters:—

The effect of the arrival of Pitt's East India Bill is thus described in a letter written in July, 1785. "The numerous collectors with their assistants had hitherto enjoyed very moderate allowances from these employers, and which could not be made an object of reform, but to these they were able to add some profits which were in no respect detrimental to their masters, and which, being both known and avowed, could not be reckoned dishonest. Presents of ceremony, called nuzzers, were to many a great portion of their subsistence; many likewise, by their knowledge of languages, or by some other means or qualifications, were able to do work for natives, from whom they received a consideration for it. All these sources, and more which it were superfluous to recite, are now dried up by

the operation of the Act; at least it is now dishonest, nay, infamous to draw aught from them; and the service is reduced to bare allowances from their employers."

What these allowances were, may be gathered from his stating in an after part of the letter, that he had received only Sa. Rs. 661, [1] for a twelvemonth past. In fact he declares himself to have been hitherto a considerable loser both of time and money, without a prospect for years to come (so much were their means reduced,) of obtaining sufficient to maintain him, and he seriously proposes a return to Europe.

"It would alarm you," he again writes, "could you transport yourself for an instant to this place, to see the distress and terror pictured in almost every countenance, under the actual operation of a load of debt, or the certain approaches of that burden. Even the parts of the Act intended for the benefit of the Company's service seem but little likely to avail us much. Several gentlemen have claimed appointments given to their juniors since the 1st of January; but the Board have as yet declined passing any decision upon them. However, on a gentleman's endeavouring to enforce his claim by strenuous argument, he was told that his spirited conduct might cost him the service."

In a letter written six months afterwards, he at last comes to this conclusion:—"The truth is, India is no longer a mine of gold; every one is disgusted, and all whose affairs permit abandon it as fast as possible. The occurrences of this year have led me to reflections on the peculiarities of a residence in this part of the world, which leave me very undecided what course to adopt. Our prospects appear so much more precarious than formerly, that a wish has arisen in my mind to prepare myself for a longer stay than I desire. It is easy to make oneself comfortable here, but it is seldom done, from the notion of returning early to Europe. Under these impressions, I have thoughts of setting myself down for a few years in a pleasant and solitary spot, with a little property, the improvement of which might employ my leisure, at the end of which time my rank in the service would probably bring me into the busy scene with rapid success. At present the temper is vainly fretted in continual labour for inadequate allowances, subject to the impositions of tradesmen, and the oppressions of the court. This has not yet been my case, but I am indeed a singular exception."

Complaints of the present, and schemes for the future, occupy no slight portion of his letters for the year following the date of

[1] About 80*l.*

the last extract; but by this time he had been called into more active employ, and then, with fixed duties and adequate allowances, his mind was diverted to more interesting and useful trains of thought.

"I have at length become sensible," he writes, "of the absurd habit into which I have inadvertently fallen, of uttering groundless and exaggerated complaints against the country, my situation in it, &c. The only solid objection to India, is the great distance from our nearest friends, whom we cannot visit occasionally, as may be done from the West Indies, and almost any other foreign residence, except, indeed, Botany Bay."

In illustration of the tone of the foregoing letters, I may add, that he appeared to have inherited from his father, a disposition towards gloomy anticipations. At the time when public affairs in England were low, under the threat of a French invasion, his thoughts turned towards America, and he planned a quiet settlement in that country when he should have quitted India. He went so far at one time, as to invest money in the American funds. His opinions, too, on English politics generally, were far from exhibiting a sanguine habit of mind.

After residing for three years in Calcutta, he was appointed to the situation of Assistant to the Collector of Revenues in Tirut, and he remained in the revenue department, though not always in a subordinate capacity, for nearly nine years. The following letter was written shortly after his arrival at his new station. The first paragraph exhibits the degree in which he had turned his mind towards those subjects which afterwards engaged so much of his attention.

"*Near Patna, December* 10, 1786.

"My dear Father,

"I have not been unmindful of the information required in your letter, nor had I been previously inattentive to the subject. I have perused most publications that related to such matters, and had verbal communications; but the result is unsatisfactory and desultory; and to connect the facts I have acquired so as to offer you an attempt deserving notice, will require further knowledge, which I hope to obtain from the Brahmins of this district, who have long enjoyed renown and high estimation for profound learning.

"My leisure from business and laziness is not considerable, and some I appropriate to the study of Arabic, with a view of having the smattering necessary to understand Persian well; and some to

a systematic pursuit of the Mussulman law; and thus you must lay your account on slow and distant progress."

The remainder of the letter is occupied with an account of the Hindu divisions of time, as exhibiting "the precision of their astronomical knowledge in remote antiquity." It appears to have struck him much. "From what you have seen, I doubt not of your being pleased at seeing such accurate determinations. I have seen some observations on their Joogs, or long periods, and on some tables, which bear internal evidence of antiquity, and prove their knowledge of many points of astronomy which became involved in the darkness of declining literature, and have been revived by modern discoveries."

When fairly settled in the country, he acquired a fondness for field sports, which never left him until the approach of old age. In a letter written soon after he had left Calcutta, he says, that to describe his occupations would be little more than to give a list of game; and his letters for the several years following, generally allude to the keen delight with which he indulged in this animating pursuit. The subject is not dropped until he was removed to a station where no game was to be found.

Practice made him an excellent shot, a circumstance in which he took some pride. In his family circle he was fond of dwelling on the subject, much more so than on the triumphs which he afterwards achieved as a literary character; for in fact, he had little of the pride of authorship. He would converse with pleasure concerning his own works, but more in the spirit of a man entering upon topics which had much engaged his attention, than with any disposition to overrate the value of those pursuits to which he had principally attached himself. He seemed rather inclined to *under*-rate them, as I shall point out hereafter.

What with sporting and official avocations, he found little time for literary pursuits. His father constantly pressed for information regarding the religion and literature of the East, to which his son as constantly pleaded want of leisure. This defence is set up at the outset of the following letter, in reply to inquiries of another nature. The whole letter affords a striking picture of the writer's mind. Some of the observations sound oddly from one who was afterwards to become so zealous an Orientalist.

"*July* 28, 1788.

"I am now to acknowledge your letters of February and March. Such inquiries as I may be able to make respecting the Trade and Manufactures, I shall not fail in; but I do not expect you will ever obtain satisfaction on these points. As for myself, (setting aside unfitness,) leisure is wanting. The daily occupations of my station, leave scarcely time for necessary relaxation, and certainly leave me but a small share of spirits for other pursuits, whilst the Board continue to censure our tardiness, in lieu of rewarding our diligence. With respect to obtaining the assistance of inquisitive persons, it will be less easy than you may have imagined; I know but two general descriptions of people in this country, I mean men of business, and men of pleasure, to both of whom such applications would seem ridiculous. If you except some two or three, there are no men of science; and as for the *Amateurs,* they are not numerous, and are, to the best of my judgment, nothing less than pedantic pretenders, who do not seek the acquisition of useful knowledge, but would only wish to attract notice, without the labour of deserving it; and this is readily accomplished by an ode from the Persian, an apologue from the Sanscrit, or a song from some unheard-of dialect of the Hinduee; of which the amateur favours the public with a *free* translation, without understanding the original, as you will immediately be convinced, if you peruse that repository of nonsense, the Asiatic Miscellany.

"I now proceed to your last (viz. of 5th March). The third volume of the 'Institutes of Ackber,' was, I believe, sent by Edward. If so, and it have miscarried, I will send mine. The whole work is a dunghill, in which a pearl or two lie hid. I have never yet seen any book which can be depended upon for information concerning the real opinions of the Hindús, except Wilkins's Bhagavat Geeta. That gentleman was Sanscrit-mad, and has more materials, and more general knowledge respecting the Hindús, than any other foreigner ever acquired since the days of Pythagoras.

"You seem to expect that I should say something as to the treatment which the natives of Hindústan have experienced at the hands of the English. I certainly have been long enough in the country to have formed my opinion, and having not been concerned in a single act of rapacity, that opinion is impartial; but it would take much time to put my ideas into any kind of order; I shall, therefore, just set down a few desultory thoughts. The conduct of our armies has never been marked with cruelty or rapacity. The fortunes which have been acquired in the military line, have with few

exceptions, been acquired at the expense of Government, not at that of the people. The exceptions I allude to, will be explained hereafter, and do not relate to the conduct of men in the field. The English have not in the least assimilated with the natives, nor ever carried on social intercourse with them. The cause of this is not so much in the English themselves resident in these countries, as in the regulations of Government, which have confined the Europeans to the Presidency, and to the principal factories, where it would be strange if they sought the society of the natives, while a numerous society offered itself of their countrymen, whose manners of course correspond with each individual's habits; to which those of a native are almost diametrically opposed. Prohibited from acquiring property in land, or even being any ways concerned in its culture, an European can never think of a permanent settlement in the East. He feels himself an alien, a bird of passage, he never can make himself comfortable and secure; and therefore he looks with an anxious eye, to the moment when he shall have a home, which can only be had in Europe. Why else are so many Europeans content to end their days in America? even in the West India Islands? and why does it never occur in the happier climate of Bengal to fix one's residence for life in the 'Paradise of Regions?' The religion and manners of the Muhammedans do not assimilate more easily with the disposition and prejudices of Hindús, than do those of the English. But Muhammedanism and Christianity are more nearly and easily connected; and I think I might venture to assert, that if permitted, many Europeans would settle in the internal part of the Company's dominions, and in a short period live in habits of familiarity with the neighbouring natives.

"Whatever be the cause, the fact is certain, and the consequences obvious. Never mixing with natives, an European is ignorant of their real character, which he therefore despises. When they meet, it is with fear on one side, and arrogance on the other. Considered as a race of inferior beings by the appellation of black fellows, their feelings are sported with, and their sufferings meet no more compassion than those of a dog or monkey.

"Contemptuous treatment is, however, the only injury usually received at the hands of their modern conquerors. It has been reserved only for a few chosen spirits to shock their religious prejudices, and to take their property by violence, fraud, or any of the modes which rapacity dictates. Nor do I believe that many instances occurred of that kind in this part of Hindústan, except during the administration of Mr. Hastings. Of the coasts of Coromandel and

Malabar, I do not pretend to speak; but in Bengal our wars and public measures, with the exception of the successive depositions of Jaffier Aly and Cossim Aly, seem perfectly justifiable. During the period which followed the acquisition of the Dewany, the nazims were oppressed, the stipendiaries defrauded, and the treasures of the Company wasted, but the people were governed by nearly the same rules, and the taxes levied from them upon much the same principles, as under the former government.

" It was Mr. Hastings who filled the country with collectors and judges, who adopted one pursuit—a fortune. Ignorant of the business on which they were employed, the members of provincial councils, and the collectors, entrusted the management of affairs to their dewans. These harpies were no sooner let loose upon the country, than they plundered the inhabitants with or without pretences, and, as a price of the sacrifice of every principle of honour, rendered to their employers a small proportion of their ill-gotten pelf. Justice was dealt out to the highest bidders by the judges, and thieves paid a regular revenue to rob with impunity. In this description I would not be understood without exceptions; on the contrary, I am induced to hope, that near a third of the servants of the Company employed in such posts, can boast unspotted consciences; but I fear the people have still been oppressed by their servants, though not with their knowledge or for their advantage.

" The matter is now altered; the Revenue servants for the most part understand and perform their duties, justice is impartially administered, crimes repressed, as far as in them lies, and the people are not oppressed for private lucre. The collectors and their assistants know how to make a profit without detriment to an individual, but even this is not now in practice.

" But it is not alone for the employing Europeans in administering justice and collecting the revenues, that the administration of Mr. Hastings has excited the murmurs of the Hindús. Nor did his crooked politics and shameless breach of faith affect any but the princes and great men; the deposition of zemíndars, the plundering of begums, the extermination of the Rohillas, may be forgotten, but the cruelties acted in Goruckpore will for ever be quoted to the dishonour of the British name. My pen could not be equal to do justice to my feelings upon this subject. Mr. Burke, no doubt, will paint the scenes in glowing colours, and many witnesses are now in England, able and willing to prove the tyranny. This is, no doubt, that *something*, the prosecutors have to produce against Mr. H., the masked battery mentioned in your letter before me,

"But it is not the conduct of individuals that belongs to this question; the system upon which the British dominions have been governed in the East, has more affected the happiness of the people. To regulate nations, as an article of trade, for the profit which is to be derived, seems a solecism in politics; not to mention monopolies of salt and opium, or the principles upon which the Company's investment has been provided, I may confine myself to the stretching the land-rents to the utmost sum they can produce. A proprietor of an estate under the Mogul government, seldom paid half of the produce of his estate, and in small properties much less; he was further allowed to take credit for a certain sum by way of pension, or held rent-free lands in lieu thereof. Under the Company, a landholder is allowed ten per cent. of the net produce as his share, (if the lands be managed by another person,) and this frequently occurs:—an adventurer offers an enhanced rent; his proposals are accepted, he rack-rents the estates, the cultivators emigrate, and he leaves the property reduced, perhaps, to a third of its value. Sooner than be exposed to this, the landholder will often engage on the enhanced rates; but here a less ruin does not await him. Unable to make good his engagements, he falls into the grasp of the extortioner, his property is sold in liquidation of his balance. To elucidate this subject fully, would require much time, and might expose me to blame; but I have said enough to justify my conclusion, that although the conduct of the English in Hindústan has been misrepresented, and the crimes of a few exaggerated, and received as a specimen of the characters of the whole, yet the treatment of the people has been such as will make them remember the yoke as the heaviest that ever conquerors put upon the necks of conquered nations. By this time, you have not improbably repented having drawn me to this subject; and I therefore may quit it, never to treat it again, unless more fully, when it can be done at leisure by the fireside.

"I have another query to reply to, viz. whether I make great progress in Arabic. I must acknowledge that vain-glory, to which I am too much addicted, could alone have induced me to say anything on the subject. What I did say I do not recollect, but I never took up the pursuit but with a view to improve my knowledge of Persian, in which I at present have only acquired the language of business, and most of the classical books of which are unintelligible to one ignorant of the Arabic. The study, undertaken with many disadvantages, was never followed up with sufficient diligence; and the last twelve months have afforded me no leisure that I could be

disposed to employ otherwise than in relaxing. Thus much I am induced to believe, that the Arabic language is of more difficult acquisition than Latin or even than Greek; and although it may be concise and nervous, it will not reward the labour of the student, since in the works of science he can find nothing new, and in those of literature he could not avoid feeling his judgment offended by the false taste in which they are written, and his imagination being heated by the glow of their imagery. A few dry facts might, however, reward the literary drudge . . . . . .

"Observing in a private letter that Mr. Burke has given great praise to Mr. Patterson, the *Rungpore investigator*, I beg to enter my solemn protest against your belief of his merits; Mr. Patterson's report was not founded upon evidence taken, and upon facts ascertained. Sent up to investigate accusations preferred against Raja Deby Sing, he received every petition presented, however improbable the facts asserted, and drew up his report upon no better ground than the tenor of the complaints delivered to him. To take the force of this remark you should be apprized, that to attract attention a native of this country aggravates the plain matter of his complaint with a variety of circumstances, which have no foundation in truth. He neither attempts nor is required to adduce proof of these adventitious circumstances, which all parties know the falsehood of; the act of oppression or extortion alone constitutes the merits of the cause. When that is proved, justice is done to him; and the falsehood and exaggerations sink into oblivion. It is for such a report and so prepared, that Mr. Burke has selected Mr. Patterson for his hero, unaware that a respectable Commission, consisting of three gentlemen of known abilities and integrity, with diligence unremitted, during many months investigated those matters, and that the result of their inquiries, and the whole purport of a large body of evidence, from witnesses produced on both sides, proved the assertions in Patterson's report groundless[1].

"Your affectionate son,

"H. T. Colebrooke."

[1] Mr. Patterson's report carries an interest with it as being that from which Mr. Burke, in his opening speech upon the impeachment of Warren Hastings, drew the substance of a series of painful details and descriptions which created the most powerful effect upon the minds of his auditory. "In this part of his speech," says the compiler of the history of the trial, "Mr. Burke's descriptions were more vivid—more harrowing—and more horrific than human utterance, on either fact

The preceding letter shows him to have been so much interested in public affairs, that the reader will not be surprised to hear that the first publication which he gave to the world partook of a political character. It was entitled Remarks on the Husbandry and Commerce of Bengal, but it was not composed until a later period than we have as yet entered upon. The letters, written during the intervening time, show the bent of his mind to have still inclined towards the politics of India, while the author himself was fully engaged with his official duties.

The first occasion on which he was brought into notice, in this latter capacity, was connected with the inquiries that were then proceeding preparatory to that settlement of the Land Revenue, which was afterwards declared permanent by Lord Cornwallis.

From Tirut, where he was at first stationed, he had been removed in April, 1789, to an assistantship of a higher grade at Purneah. He was there (happily for himself) placed under a collector, who idled away his office hours, and was too glad to throw the ordinary duties of the station on so efficient an assistant. The extraordinary duties connected with the revenue settlement were of course then too burdensome for him, and he willingly accepted his deputy's assistance to think and report for him. Although these reports bore the signature of the collector, they were very soon judged to be the production of another hand. From this time Mr. Colebrooke rose into notice.

It was not long before he was nominated to an independent office conected with these duties. The event is thus announced to his family at home, in a letter from his brother.

"Graham has succeeded in getting Henry named on a deputation to investigate the resources of all Purneah, and increase the Company's revenue there. The Council was going to employ a commissioner, but Graham contended that while a man of Henry's abilities was head-assistant there, no other person should be employed. Henry is so pleased with the business, and so sanguine in his hopes, that he declares that he would not change situations with any man in the service." The great interest that he took in his labours, is evinced in one of his first letters after the appointment

or fancy, perhaps, ever formed before. The agitation of most people was very apparent, and Mrs. Sheridan was so overpowered that she fainted."

It may be right to mention that Burke enters into some details on the manner in which the Government and the Commission appointed to investigate Mr. Patterson's charges treated him, in order to show that he was an ill-used man.

took effect. "I am at present engaged," he writes, "in a work, for the success of which I feel all the solicitude of a young author. It is not a literary piece, or a work of science, but a ten years' settlement of some of the districts of this collectorship, in concluding which I have the honour to assist. You will at first think the solicitude I mention excessive; but you must consider that this settlement has always been considered as the principal object of the present government, for which three years have been spent in preparing."

This was written in December, 1789. In the July of the following year he writes in a very different tone.

"MY DEAR FATHER,

"I acknowledge the justice of the reproof conveyed in your letter of January last. The religion, manners, natural history, traditions, and arts of this country, may certainly furnish subjects on which my communications might perhaps be not uninteresting; but to offer anything deserving of attention would require a season of leisure to collect and digest information. Engaged in a public and busy scene, my mind is wholly engrossed by the cares and duties of my station, in vain I seek for relaxation-sake to direct my thoughts to other subjects, matters of business constantly recur. It is for this cause that I have occasionally apologised for a dearth of subjects, having no occurrences to relate, and the matters which occupy my attention being uninteresting as a subject of correspondence. If this was the case when I was an obscure individual, it is become more so since Government has ordered me on novel inquiries. When I first entered on the charge, feeling myself not unequal to the undertaking, my natural aversion to responsibility was silenced by the sanguine hope of distinguishing myself. It afterwards appeared that my instructions were erroneous, and they were, after several months, new-modelled. Disgusted with having laboured so long without its answering any purpose, my execution of their second orders will not be answerable, I doubt, to what is expected, and is somewhat slovenly. I shall be satisfied if I now obtain a tithe of the applause I first hoped for; and I am now determined never again to stand in a situation of responsibility, while I can have a subsistence without it." . . . . . .

The spirit of this resolution did not cling to him long. Subsequent letters show ardent aspiration for still higher distinction;

and the feeling runs through most of his letters, until he was elevated to a post not far short in dignity to a seat in the Supreme Council; and then he was so well satisfied with his situation, as not to wish to rise higher. Much of his time at Purneah was employed in collecting information on the state of the Agriculture and internal Commerce of Bengal. He told the writer of these pages, that the materials for his treatise on these subjects were collected during his sporting excursions, and the constant intercourse with the peasantry which they gave rise to. But it is evident that the course of his thoughts was first turned in this direction by the nature of his official avocations, which involved inquiries concerning the statistics of the district. His letters show the strong taste that he had imbibed for statistical research. They are full of observations on the agriculture, and ingenious calculations concerning the population of his district, and of Bengal in general; but as they were afterwards embodied in "the Remarks," they will require no insertion here. The question of the colonization of India by Europeans, which it was one of the objects of his work to recommend and promote, had early engaged his attention, though the train of thought by which he was led to decide for the expedience of it, was quite unconnected with agriculture. He proposed it in order to give the civil servants a more permanent interest in the country, and check that disposition to regard India merely as a place for making fortunes, which characterised the "birds of passage" of those days.

The letter, of which the following is an extract, first broaches the scheme of becoming an author.

"*Purneah*, 17 *November*, 1790.

. . . . "I have frequently had it in my mind to attempt something on subjects relative to this country. The question is, on what to employ the pen. Translations are for those who rather need to fill their purses than gratify their ambition. For original compositions on Oriental history and sciences, is required more reading in the literature of the East than I possess, or am likely to attain. My subject should be connected with those matters to which my attention is professionally led.

"One subject is, I believe, yet untouched: the agriculture of Bengal. On this I have been curious of information, and having obtained some, I am now pursuing inquiries with some degree of regularity. I wish for your opinion, whether it would be worth while to reduce into form the information which may be obtained

on a subject necessarily dry, and which (curious perhaps) is certainly useless to English readers."

Here follows a detail of the objects of inquiry, comprising the whole course of Bengal husbandry, and interspersed with abundant notices regarding its condition. It appears to have been entered upon as an interesting study, and not with the ulterior object of inculcating any line of policy. The only plan that is discoverable in it, appears to have been to make it comparative between Europe and Asia, in order to enable the artisans and husbandmen of either country to profit by the knowledge. His reflections on husbandry and those on colonization were long kept distinct; they were not combined together until the tendency of the discussions, preparatory to the granting a new charter in 1793, provoked him to become an author. "I wrote the work," he told me, "in a fit of ill humour, at seeing the manner in which questions of Indian policy were dealt with."

The object of the work was to exhibit a body of information on the actual state of Bengal, in order to draw the public attention towards the value of the country, if governed on a liberal policy; and to point out its resources to all who might feel an interest in the question of European settlement. It was the joint production of himself and Mr. Anthony Lambert, and treated on the internal and external commerce of the country. The former part of the subject, and the chapters on agriculture (the greater portion of the volume), were written by Mr. Colebrooke.

It was a hazardous experiment, considering the despotic authority which the Company exercised over their servants. It was one of the first occasions on which free trade with India, and colonization of that country, were seriously proposed, and certainly a rare instance, at that time, of a Company's servant, and one in an inferior capacity, venturing to impugn the policy of their commercial restrictions. Soon after its publication, when he was naturally anxious to learn how it had been received, he made inquiries from an officer in high station, and received the rebuff, "You may think yourself fortunate if you remain in the service."

The work, however, was not published without due caution. For a time he hesitated, and it was not until he was much pressed by his friends, and had taken the opinion of all by whose judgment he could profit, that he consented to its appearance.

The publication of a private edition, in 1795, closed his labours for a time. It will be seen hereafter that he was compelled to

reprint the work in England, and that it was the cause of considerable anxiety to him through the course of the ten years following its first appearance; but even before this first edition had appeared, his mind had been turned towards studies of a very different complexion and cast.

Before entering upon an account of those studies, I may mention another literary plan that he had in view at the time he was engaged on the work of which I have partly traced the history. He had thoughts of taking part in a controversy that then raged concerning the Land Revenue in Bengal. His official avocations led to this as to the former work. "I shall have occasion," he writes, "to enter fully into the whole system of the Revenue, as established by the native government which preceded us, and as altered by the British administration." This original intention was not prosecuted; but the materials of this treatise formed the basis of a chapter (written in no controversial spirit), in "the Remarks."

It is natural to suppose that one so zealous of acquiring knowledge should have turned towards the literature of the country in which he resided at an early period of his residence in it. We have seen how constantly his father urged him to give up more of his time to inquiries concerning the literature and religion of the Hindús. "I have, indeed, at times turned my thoughts that way," Mr. Colebrooke replies on one occasion; "but so many difficulties occur, as, joined to a want of leisure, may prove insuperable."—Occasionally, however, he finds time for research. Allusions to subjects of the nature required by his father are scattered over the letters written during the first ten years of his residence in India, every letter containing an apology for not sending more. He sometimes treats on the subject at considerable length, but his observations are cursory, and apparently picked up in a great measure in conversation with intelligent natives, and not from mere study. "Further than what I have given," he observes in one letter, "remains for those who study the religion; as for myself I have been mostly taken up with public business, employing, as usual, my leisure in the sports of the field."

At length, in the eleventh year of his residence in India, he embarked on a course of study, which engaged the largest share of his attention, (public duties of course excepted,) until his return to Europe.

The original object for which he sought to acquire a knowledge of Sanscrit language had a reference to the treatises on Algebra, which he afterwards translated and gave to the world. However,

when he had mastered the language, his attention was diverted to other subjects, and that design was not executed until twenty years afterwards.

The difficulties that he encountered in his first attempts to acquire the language were such, that he had twice abandoned the study before he finally took it up, and succeeded. Unfortunately, no letter exists which alludes to these first attempts. It was not until he had been a full year engaged in this new pursuit, that we find him incidentally alluding to his progress. This much may be said, that he first entered upon this study while residing at Purneah, but that it was not until he was removed to Nattore, in the district of Rajshahi, that he engaged in it with ardour. He thus announces his arrival at that station.

"*September* 29, 1793.

"My dear Father,

"A new arrangement in the revenue line has removed me from Purneah to Nattore, where I arrived in the middle of August. The collections of the districts dependant on this station become my charge. The judicial authority, from which the collections are now separated, is held by our friend, James Grant, who was lately collector at Bhaugulpore. They would persuade us that, in committing to us the most troublesome district of Bengal, a compliment is paid, for which we ought to be grateful. For my part, I would willingly have been spared the compliment, to be sent to an office of less responsibility and labour.

"This being one of the lowest countries of Bengal, I at present see it to great disadvantage. The whole country around is covered with a sheet of water, and we are insulated within the Court-yard. Here and there a village peeps above the level, and sends its peasants to gather their rice in boats; for in these low districts, rice, sown before the rains, rises with the inundation, and ripens in a very considerable depth of water. In some extensive tracts, a ship of the line might sail over the rice fields.

"On your question relating to the cultivation of sugar in Bengal, I may, I believe, refer you to papers, enclosed in a letter, addressed to you last season. If England will receive our sugar, and encourage the planters, we could furnish it cheaper than the West India islands, and supply more than the consumption of all Europe; at least, we could now undersell the West India planters in their own islands, and in a few years could increase the culture to any given quantity. But Mr. Dundas's propositions for the renewal of the Company's

charter are filled with clauses, whose obvious tendency is to check all enterprise and industry in this country.

"I shall send you, by the ships of the season, the volumes hitherto published, of Asiatic Researches. You will find in the third, a curious paper on Egypt, as known to the Hindús. They certainly have many traces of the early history of western countries. Their early authors recorded what came to their knowledge concerning celebrated persons; but they have not been careful to distinguish history from fable, nor to connect historical facts with geography or chronology.

"I have met with some legends that seem to have reference to the Jews, under the appellation of *Colábidúnsi* (abstaining from pork). Their war with Raja Súrata is referred to a former *Manwantara*, and, according to the Hindú chronology, one hundred and twenty millions of years of the present *Manwantara* are expired. This may help to show that no historical lights can be expected from *Sanscrit* literature; but it may nevertheless be curious, if not useful, to publish such of their legends as seem to resemble others known to European mythology. I shall send you some I have met with . . . .

"H. T. C."

In the next letter he enters more fully on these topics. The first part I insert as giving his impressions on receiving information of the character of the East India Bill of 1793, and in corroboration of what has been already said of the spirit with which he wrote the treatise on husbandry and commerce.

"*Rajshahi, December* 6, 1793.

"My dear Father,

"When I wrote last I had seen only vague accounts of the terms on which the charter was renewed. We here supposed that the former restrictions were in a great measure obsolete, and only continued *pro formâ*, and that the real intention was to encourage a more liberal system of commercial intercourse between Great Britain and India, or, at least, to foster the new produce and commerce which had been opened.

"I hardly restrain myself from commenting at large on the system exhibited in the new act of parliament, and explained by the previous negotiations and debates. I conceive it contrary to justice and sound policy. It disappoints the sanguine expectations I had formed, of seeing this country revive under encouragements to its industry. It disappoints me of the satisfaction I hoped to receive,

from the reflection of having contributed my humble mite to the general good, in pointing out, or rather in suggesting hints for showing by what system of intercourse both nations might be equally benefited. The melancholy scene of increasing poverty in Bengal will not be shifted. But I am entering on the subject from which I had determined to refrain.

" In my Sanscrit studies I do not confine myself now to particular subjects, but skim the surface of all their sciences. I will subjoin for your amusement, some remarks on subjects treated in 'the Researches.' "

[Most of these remarks have since appeared more fully. The concluding observations, written as they are in the first keenness of his Oriental researches, give the general impressions which the result of his reading had left upon his mind.]

" Upon the whole, whatever may be the true antiquity of this nation, whether their mythology be a corruption of the pure deism we find in their books, or their deism a refinement from gross idolatry; whether their religious and moral precepts have been engrafted on the elegant philosophy of the Nyáya and Mimánsa, or this philosophy been refined on the plainer text of the Veda,—the Hindú is the most ancient nation of which we have valuable remains, and has been surpassed by none in refinement and civilization; though the utmost pitch of refinement to which it ever arrived preceded in time the dawn of civilization in any other nation of which we have even the name in history.

" The further our literary inquiries are extended here, the more vast and stupendous is the scene which opens to us; at the same time that the true and false, the sublime and the puerile, wisdom and absurdity, are so intermixed, that at every step we have to smile at folly, while we admire and acknowledge the philosophical truth, though couched in obscure allegory or puerile fable.

" I have only to wish for more leisure for diligent study in their literature: you might then expect more ample communications from me, and in a perspicuous arrangement.

" Your affectionate son,

" H. T. COLEBROOKE."

His father was anxious that he should treat on the subject discussed in the early part of the foregoing letter more at large, and with a view to publication. The letter subjoined was written in reply to a request of that nature, which had been suggested by observations of an earlier date than those last quoted.

"*Rajshahi, April* 18, 1794.

"MY DEAR FATHER,

"I had the satisfaction of receiving a letter from you, dated in September last. To make an attack upon the Company's charter must certainly offend; and if a liberal policy could be expected from an exclusive Company, I should think the attack best avoided. But the opinion declared by the Court of Directors, that no private trade should be permitted to interfere with their *Aurungs*, and their ungenerous conduct towards certain memorialists, who recommended encouragement to private traders, has betrayed an unconciliating temper, which never will acquiesce in any modification of their exclusive privileges.

"If it be admitted that Great Britain should draw a tribute from Bengal, and that it can only be drawn through the medium of commerce, conducted by a privileged Company, it is plausibly argued, that to maintain their commerce competition must be excluded. While it is assumed that the present fabric must be touched with caution and reverence, until the result of gradual experiment show another system preferable and practicable, the privileges maintained must defeat the proposed experiments, and the present system must be perpetuated in order to hold Bengal as a loose appendage on commerce, instead of connecting it to Great Britain as a portion of the empire. The caution which shrinks from discussing the policy of maintaining a privileged Company gives a great advantage to those who argue for a narrow system, professing to appeal to particular experience against general experience, which they are pleased to term theory. For by this caution they are permitted to proceed upon data which might be oppugned.

"If I were to presume so far as to enter on the discussion of any part of this subject, I would boldly enter on the whole. I think it might be shown that the Company lose by their Indian commerce; and that notwithstanding the tribute they draw, they lose by the connexion of the revenue with the commerce. If this can be shown, it follows that experience is against the expediency of the present system. Its justice might be next questioned. Having established the argument on justice and expediency, it might be allowable to speculate on the mutual benefit to Great Britain and Bengal, which would result from affiliating Bengal, and cherishing this country instead of oppressing her. The policy of free nations, in regard to foreign possessions, has ever been selfish. A sovereign prince may also be influenced by personal motives; but they do not necessarily lead him to partiality towards one class of his subjects,

or towards one portion of his empire. The advocates for Bengal must show to Great Britain advantage to herself, in the adoption of a more liberal policy: they must show to the Company disadvantage, in retaining their exclusive privileges.

" This might be done, for I think it will admit of demonstration, that the India Company would be bettered by relinquishing the revenue and commerce of the Peninsula, and by restricting themselves to the China monopoly; and that Great Britain would be benefited by a free commerce with British India.

" But the discussion of the subject would involve with these arguments, others in their nature offensive to the Directors, or to administration. Even those arguments might be resented, by a company jealous of their privileges. I do not think that an attack on those privileges should be avoided, lest resentment should refuse what may be expected from a spirit of conciliation; nor that it should be omitted as unseasonable after the exclusive privileges have been renewed. But I know it to be personally dangerous to discuss these topics; nor have I the presumption to think myself qualified to convince the public judgment.

" Since I last wrote, I communicated to the Asiatic Society a short paper on the ceremonies observed by Hindú women burning themselves with the corpse of their deceased husbands. I believe it will be printed in the next volume, for I have received from Sir William Jones a polite and flattering acknowledgment of it. I am now fairly entered among Oriental researches, and may, probably, unless I be early removed to an office of more labour, pursue Sanscrit inquiries diligently, and load the press with the result of my lucubrations.

" You need not apprehend that I should neglect business, or be thought to do so. My name for diligence in business is so far established, that a literary name will add to, rather than detract from official character. The only caution which occurs to me, is not to hazard anything in publication which would injure my reputation as a man of literature. This may be guarded against by submitting my manuscripts to private perusal.

" Your affectionate son,

" H. T. Colebrooke."

The paper on the burning of Hindú widows comprised a collection of the Hindú authorities bearing on the subject: it was the first of his contributions to the *Asiatic Researches*, and the translation was undertaken by him " as a task," while as yet studying the language,

thereby making his exercises available to science. The correspondence of which the letter from Sir William Jones was the opening, was suddenly terminated by the death of that eminent scholar. Mr. Colebrooke thus speaks of the melancholy event, in a letter written in June, 1794.

" Since I wrote to you, the world has sustained an irreparable loss, in the death of Sir William Jones. As a judge, as a constitutional lawyer, and for his amiable qualities in private life, he must have been lost with heartfelt regret. But his loss as a literary character will be felt in a wider circle. It was his intention shortly to have returned to Europe, where the most valuable works might have been expected from his pen. His premature death leaves the result of his researches unarranged, and must lose to the world much that was only committed to memory, and much of which the notes must be unintelligible to those into whose hands his papers fall. It must be long before he is replaced in the same career of literature, if he ever is so. None of those who are now engaged in Oriental researches are so fully informed in the classical languages of the East; and I fear that in the progress of their inquiries none will be found to have such comprehensive views."

The death of Sir William Jones gave rise in Mr. Colebrooke to an undertaking which diverted his studies from the desultory course which the first eagerness of his researches led his mind to pursue. It is described in the following extract of a letter, written in October, 1794.

" The laborious undertaking to which I allude, is a translation from the original Sanscrit, of a copious digest of Hindú law; which was compiled under the directions of Sir W. Jones. Unfortunately for the public, he did not live to finish it. Knowing that few possess the language, and thence judging that it might be difficult to find a person to complete the work, I offered my services; but some difficulties were at first made, which I misconstrued, and therefore retracted my offer. I supposed that where terms were insisted on to which I could not agree, there could be no difficulty in finding another person willing and able to make the translation; and my only motive for undertaking it consequently ceased; for I had explained my motive to be, that the work might not be lost, and had refused all emolument from it.

" However, on a late visit to Calcutta, I found that I had misunderstood the intentions of our great men, and that unless I made the translation, it could not be immediately done; for one had refused it, and the studies of others in the language were yet young. But

still it was insisted with me, that I should reside in Calcutta during the work, give up my present station, and accept of a salary for the translation. To this I could not accede; but to remove the petty difficulties which were made, I offered to carry it on at my leisure, either to its completion, or until some person were found willing to dedicate his *whole time* to it. This was accepted, and I have been for this month past busied in the translation. It will be a voluminous work, nevertheless I expect to finish it in six months.

"The additional expense to which I am put for pundits and amanuenses will not be considerable, as far as I can at present judge. Unless it exceed two thousand rupees, I shall choose to bear the expense myself; otherwise I shall obtain reimbursement when the translation is finished."

He greatly miscalculated the extent of labour required; instead of six months it occupied him two years. This, however, was partly owing to his having changed his plan, as will be seen presently.

The nature of the work called for unremitting labour, even drudgery; but there was, perhaps, no undertaking in which he engaged with more zeal. I am told by his brother, who lived for some months in his house at Rajshahi, where he first commenced the work, that the intenseness of his application was such as to alarm his friends for his health; and that it was their practice to plan various sporting excursions in order to withdraw his mind from his labours. He was then, too, a midnight student, which his companions at the station did their best to prevent, by breaking in upon his retirement and putting out the lights.

He had not been long engaged in the translation of the Digest, before he was removed to an office that afforded more leisure for study than the one which he had held at Rajshahi. The new office was of a judicial nature, and placed him in a neighbourhood which he had for some time been anxious to visit. The event is announced in the following letter.

"*Rajshahi, August* 11, 1795.

"My dear Father,

"It will afford you pleasure to learn that I have been appointed to an eligible post, the Adawlut at Mirzapoor. From its neighbourhood to Benares, I shall have the convenience for which I wished to be placed at that city,—ready access to the Hindú College. On one account I may prefer it as a retired situation; and I understand it is both wholesome and pleasant.

"My pursuits in Sanscrit, in which I am confident you equally interest yourself for my success, proceed well. The great work I

undertook a year ago, is well advanced; it will employ the leisure of another year, which exceeds my estimate; but my first intention had been to omit or abridge the commentaries of the lawyers. I afterwards determined on carrying the verbal translation through the whole, both text and gloss; and I shall take advice on the translation, whether to abridge the subject while revising it. Either way it will be no slight performance, but fill a ponderous folio or two.

"On a very different subject, I have printed a private edition of a moderate quarto[1]; the subject is the same which I once wrote you I should avoid. But I could not refrain from committing my thoughts to paper, and was persuaded to make a private edition of the work; it has been shown to friends on whose judgment I rely, and who would advise me against anything which might be dangerous to me.

"I enclose a list of books and instruments which I should be happy to receive with those requested in my last. I have thoughts of employing my leisure on chemical experiments, while correcting the work now in hand for the press. Were another work undertaken, it might render me too careless in this irksome task.

"The following short enumeration of the opinions of the different Hindú sects on the nature of the Deity fell in my way very lately; to explain them might form a good metaphysical essay:

"He, whoever he be, whom men adore for human purposes, (for prosperity, life, final beatitude, &c.) is, according to the *Aupanishadas* (who ground their opinions on the hymns extracted from the Veda), 'he whose nature is pure and silent.'

"According to the Cápilas (followers of Capila, the founder of a sect in philosophy,) 'the first, wise, and perfect being.'

"According to the *Pátanjalas,* (named from the founder of the sect,) 'the benevolent revealer of all things.'

"According to the *Pásupatas,* (a religious sect,) 'he who is, in contradistinction to the world and the Védas, unstained and independent.'

"According to the Saivas, (or peculiar worshippers of Siva,) 'Siva the destroyer.'

"According to the *Vaishnavas,* (or peculiar worshippers of Vishnu the preserver,) 'the great male.'

"According to the Pauránicas, (who ground their opinions on mythological story,) 'the common ancestor.'

"According to the *Yájnyicas,* (who attribute all merit to sacrifice,) 'the male, *or object* of *adoration* and sacrifice.'

[1] The Remarks on the Husbandry and Commerce of Bengal.

" According to the *Saugatas,* (followers of JINA and BUDDHA,) ' the omniscient.'

" According to the *Digambaras,* (a sect of naked devotees,) ' the unclothed being.'

" According to the *Mimánsicas,* (named from the name of this sect of philosophers or logicians,) ' he for whom religious rites are ordained,' that is, the object of adoration and religious observances.

" According to the *Chároácas,* ' he who is acknowledged by the universal consent of mankind.'

" According to the *Naiyayicas,* (Logicians,) ' the universal agent, or active being.'

" Not to mention many other opinions, the tribes of Artisans hold him to be the deity whom they worship by the name of VISWACARMAN, that is, they do not define the value of the divinity.

" This extract must suffice for the present.

" Your affectionate son,

" H. T. COLEBROOKE."

Shortly after his arrival at his new station, he writes in a high tone of satisfaction.

" *Mirzapore, October* 12, 1795.

" I have already hinted that I am much pleased with this situation. It is in a very beautiful country, and possesses an advantage not frequent in these provinces, nearness to a hilly country. Another circumstance which renders this place a pleasant residence, is the thriving state of the town and neighbourhood. Mirzapore has, within few years, become one of the principal marts for land trade, and its commerce is daily increasing. From its further increase I may derive honour, as well as the simple pleasure of witnessing it; for its prosperity would be partly attributed to my exertions in the care of the police, &c.

" To join great with small, would that peace were restored, and England as thriving as this town! The last accounts which have reached us, exhibit very different prospects; an obstinate perseverance in a disastrous war, and dangerous discontents in Ireland. But it is of no avail to employ my thoughts on public ills; it shall be enough for me if my near friends are well and happy."

The following observations took their rise in some apologies for the irregularity of his correspondence.

" To those who have believed accounts formerly published, of the indolent lives led by the British in India, my hint of urgent business

would need to be supported; but I might affirm, on the contrary, that public servants are more constantly employed in official duties than elsewhere. Even Sunday is no holiday to us. You will easily admit it, when I add that in the judicial department, a single magistrate must hear and determine from three hundred to five hundred causes a month; in some districts twice as much; and that he must not only record his proceedings at large, with all the pleadings, evidence, &c., in writing, but also furnish monthly reports of every cause decided, monthly accounts of all moneys passing through the court; and must also correspond, on the business of the police, &c., with the native magistrates under him, with the magistrates of other districts, and with government; besides an ample etcetera for incidental business.

"You may wonder how any person finds leisure for literary pursuits. It is indeed, a matter of surprise; and our late worthy president of the Asiatic Society has somewhere remarked upon it. *Apropos*, You ask how we are to supply his place? Indeed, but ill! Our present and future presidents may preside with dignity and propriety, but who can supply his place in diligent and ingenious researches? Not even the combined efforts of the whole Society! It was lately hinted to me, that they looked to Mr. Davis, Mr. Wilford, and myself, for the materials of another volume. Now, Mr. Davis has not a day to give to Sanscrit avocations in three years. All my leisure is employed on three ponderous quartos of Hindú Jurisprudence. The whole load, therefore, falls on one."

While engaged on this work, he was still laying down further plans of literary study. In June, 1796, he writes as follows.

"I need books on a subject with which I am so little acquainted, that I cannot name the particular books, which would answer my purpose. I am inclined to believe that much similarity might be traced between the Sanscrit language and the Celtic tongue, and between the Hindú antiquities and the Runic and Celtic antiquities. Several coincidences have been pointed out to me by gentlemen acquainted with Erse; and in the little I have picked up concerning Celtic antiquities, some points of similarity have occurred to me, especially in respect of religion. I am, for this reason, anxious to possess some of the principal works on the Gothic, old Saxon, and Erse, or Irish languages, and on Celtic and Runic antiquities. Under this general designation, could a bookseller provide such books as will answer my purpose?"

On the 3d of January, 1797, after about two years of incessant application, he announces the completion of his great undertaking.

"The task of translating the digest of Indian law, on which I have been so long employed, is now completed; last week I sent it to the Governor General. It has been attended with expense so much exceeding what I had expected, that this circumstance, joined to some other considerations, has determined me to accept remuneration, if adequately offered; I have intimated as much. Motives of pride, which had their share in dictating the former resolution, must yield to stronger calls, and the labour has much exceeded what I intended to have given gratuitously. I shall probably visit Calcutta this month, to arrange the mode of putting the work into the press. Then will follow the anxieties of an author, painfully solicitous for the suffrage of the public. I have, indeed, less to fear than most authors. I am not responsible for the matter or arrangement, and elegance of style is not required in works of this nature. Fidelity of translation is all which is called for; and on this point I fear not reprehension. I hope my literary bantling will be presented to you next year."

The letter from which the above is taken, proceeds to deal with political events; still, however, his thoughts revert to Sanscrit, and he concludes with some observations on the prospects of that literature.

"I turn," he writes, "to the more pleasing topic of literature and improvement. Types have been lately cast in Calcutta, for printing the Sanscrit language in its appropriate character. This will be early followed by the publication of a dictionary of that language, which a friend of mine is preparing for the press; and this again may be accompanied by a grammar which I have some intention of giving to the public. When these helps to the study of Sanscrit have issued from the press, it is possible that it may be taken up at our universities in England, as Arabic is now studied there. Our collegians have more leisure for such undertakings, than any residents in India, who have little leisure from official avocations for literary researches. However, the spirit of research is not dead.

"The Asiatic Society have applied for an incorporation. This, it is thought, will give permanence to the Society, and by adding to its dignity, stimulate the members of it to support its fame. Yet, I fear, on the whole, that the expectation formed in Europe from the literary mine now opened here, will be in a great degree disappointed. Curiosity will, indeed, be gratified, and some addition made to the history of philosophy, &c., but on most subjects, less

information will be obtained than is looked for. Yet this shall not damp the ardour of inquiry in

"Your affectionate son,

"H. T. COLEBROOKE."

He returns again to the subject of the Digest, in a letter written during a short visit which he paid to Calcutta.

"*February* 3, 1797.

"MY DEAR FATHER,

"I came down to Calcutta a few days ago, for the purpose of seeing my translation put into the press in a satisfactory shape, and am now busied in concerting the best dress to let it appear in.

"The Governor General presented it to the council, with a minute, containing many expressions very flattering to me. As I derive no emolument from these labours, thanks may be the more easily obtained, and at some future period it may be useful to have received thanks.

"I will now ask your permission to open to you views of ambition to which I have been gradually led, and which it would have been presumptuous to unfold earlier. In doing it, I must betray some self conceit which I would not betray to any one but my indulgent father. You will gather from the enclosed minute, from the occasional thanks I receive in the progress of my official duties, and perhaps from channels not known to me, that I stand high in esteem, both with the members of government and with the public at large. While earning a reputation in so many and various lines, I have not hitherto sought to avail myself of it, but contented myself with gradual advancement, which has been afforded me unsolicited. This plan of forbearance, in which I was, perhaps, guided as much by inclination as by prudence, is now nearly arrived at its maturity; and endeavours may be used, not altogether hopelessly, to push me into the supreme council. I need your advice, and shall request your aid in pursuing the scheme. If you advert to the few rivals I have in the service, who can have any pretensions to look to a seat in council, and if you reflect on various other circumstances which will readily occur, the idea will no longer seem wild to you.

"You will now perceive, what I was before ashamed to explain, the reason why I wished you not to press Lord Cornwallis concerning me. I was confident of being able to raise myself without exertions to any of the common offices of the service, and I yet

expect to be able, without more help than my personal interest here, to rise yet higher in the same course of office. I therefore wished to retain Lord Cornwallis' good will, that I might have his good word, should his advice be asked, if ever it be agitated to name me for council.

"When the Digest is printed off, you will perceive the most material difference between this and Halhed's, for Halhed's is no translation of the Sanscrit original, and, as Sir William Jones remarked, it is full of gross and dangerous errors. The means of acquiring the Sanscrit language were, by translating a grammar and several dictionaries of it, with the help of a Brahman. I cannot conceive how it came to be ever asserted that the Brahmans were averse to instruct strangers; several gentlemen who have studied the language, find, as I do, the greatest readiness in them to give us access to all their sciences. They do not even conceal from us the most sacred texts of their *Védas*.

"Your affectionate son,

"H. T. Colebrooke."

Most of the readers of this memoir will be aware that the Digest of Hindú law translated by Mr. Colebrooke, was not the first that the British rule had given rise to. The work, to which allusion is made in the preceding letter, was compiled during the administration of Mr. Hastings, and underwent a double process of interpretation; first, from the original Sanscrit into Persian, and thence into English by Mr. Halhed. A work thus composed could not, of course, be depended upon for those purposes for which it was originally intended, viz., as a check upon the interpretations of the native pundits, and it was, moreover, essentially defective on the important branch of "contracts." For these and some other reasons, Sir William Jones proposed that the more elaborate work should be undertaken, which was accordingly done. Voluminous as this new compilation was, it was defective on some points, such as criminal law; and on others, it was characterized by the translator in almost the same terms as those which had formerly been applied by Sir William Jones to the work of Mr. Halhed; "extremely diffusive on subjects rather curious than useful." These defects in the original plan, Mr. Colebrooke sought to amend by means of a supplementary Digest, which should comprise those heads on which the other was deficient. He proposed to employ efficient pundits in the compilation, while the task of translation should engage himself. If will be seen that it occupied no slight

portion of his leisure for several years following. The pundit employed proved dilatory or unequal to the task; the whole burden, therefore, fell upon himself.

This task, and Sanscrit studies of a miscellaneous nature, now engaged his attention. During the four years subsequent to the completion of the Digest, his contributions to the Asiatic Researches were more frequent than at any other time.

I extract the following request for books, from a letter written soon after the completion of the Digest, which exhibits the varied and extensive course of his general reading.

"I shall be glad to have Dr. Bancroft's Treatise on Dyeing. If a telescope has not yet been sent I should wish for one; it will complete a very good apparatus I have got. The editions of Linnæus, which your bookseller sent three years ago, are very old and of little use; more than three hundred genera of plants have been since discovered. May I beg you to order the latest editions of the Philosophia Botanica, Genera and Species Plantarum, and Kerr's edition of the Systema Naturæ. I should like to have the latest editions of Lavoisier's Works. I had marked Berthollet on Dyeing to ask you for it, but I suppose Dr. Bancroft's Treatise may contain the whole of Berthollet's doctrine. Hutton's Mathematical Dictionary and Kerr's Chemical Dictionary are recommended to me. These I should be glad to have, with as many volumes as have been published of Memoirs of Science and Arts; also, Valli and Munroe on Animal Electricity, Mackay on the Longitude, and Crawford's Works on Heat. If you approve Andrews' History of Great Britain, order it to be added; also, Kippis' Biographia Britannica, if it is completed. Paley's Evidences of Christianity is much praised by reviewers. It has not been brought to India."

In 1799, Mr. Colebrooke was promoted to a new sphere of official employ. This is announced to his relations in England in the letter here subjoined.

"*Nagpoor*, 8 *June*, 1799.

"My dear Mother,

"In the hurry of preparing for a long journey from Calcutta to the capital of Berar, and, afterwards, during the journey itself, I omitted writing to you. I will now make atonement by giving you some account of myself for a year past.

"About this time twelvemonth, I was nominated to proceed on an embassy to Nagpoor; and in the month of August, while I was busy preparing for the journey, I had orders to repair to Calcutta. Thither I went by water, and had the pleasure of seeing my brother

in passing Moorshedabad. After some stay at Calcutta, which was rather irksome from the daily expectation of leaving it, and the tedious postponement of my departure, I travelled post to Benares; and there and at Mirzapoor I completed my preparations. At length, on the 4th January, I set out from Mirzapoor. My route lay through a very difficult country, part of which had never been visited by Europeans. It was mostly mountainous; covered with forest, and very thinly inhabited. The roads were bad; and many of the passes over the mountains very dangerous, and scarcely practicable. The journey was tedious. However, I completed it in two months and a half, with the loss of a few camels, and of much patience.

"The picturesque scenery of hill and wood was interesting for a few days. Something there was to attract attention in almost every part of the route; but, still, the daily march and daily want of occupation palled on the mental appetite. I had been long tired of the journey, especially as great heat had succeeded to intense cold, when I reached the place of my destination on the 18th March. With the exception of some vacant intervals, I have been since fully employed in my public functions; but I now embrace the opportunity of such leisure as my duties leave me to make amends for former indolence. Yet, not having sufficient time to give all particulars, I will refer you to my sister for passages from a sort of journal I shall send her; and I will here content myself with giving you some idea of the place where I am now sojourning.

"The town of Nagpoor is situated in a valley, surrounded by barren hills of no great elevation. They are barren for want of soil. The valley is so from too great a prevalence of clay. It is true that in the hot season, most places in India have a dreary appearance, I will not therefore pass sentence against this, but only say that hitherto its aspect has not been cheerful, and that a clayey country is not promising for the rainy season. The roads being bad and commanding no beautiful prospects, there is little temptation for daily exercise; and my turn for sporting is here, as it has been at Mirzapoor, useless to me, for there is no sporting ground within reach.

"I should have told you that the town stands upon the *Nág*, a small brook which only deserves to be noticed, because it appears to give name to the province. The town is, like most towns in India, ill-built, with narrow dirty streets. But the ground surrounding the palace is more open, and the palace itself is a large and (for a

Hindu owner) a magnificent building. It consists of half a dozen courts, completely surrounded with buildings two or three stories high, lined internally with a narrow colonnade, and having a dead wall outside. I have only seen the public apartments. They are spacious, particularly the principal hall of audience, and are well decorated with pier-glasses, pictures, girandoles, &c. The reigning prince has not only a taste for architecture, which he has displayed in the palace he has built for himself, but he has also a turn for gardening. I benefit by it, for I have got for my abode a neat garden, with a tolerable good house in it. The garden is laid out in straight walks with cut hedges, &c. But I have been long enough absent from England not to be fastidious about the laying out of grounds.

"Adjoining to mine is a similar house and garden, belonging to the heir apparent. A little further is a very pretty one, lately finished by the reigning prince himself. It is small, but pretty, and the numerous buildings and their splendid decorations are elegant. The effect is particularly pleasing at night, when the fountains play, and the whole garden is illuminated. In a hot climate, and more especially in the hot season, the night is the only time when a garden can be visited.

"Of the Court, I may well say that the Raja is in his manners more like a private gentleman than a sovereign prince, and an Asiatic one too. His manners are simple, with little pomp, and less appearance of pride. The courtiers naturally copy their sovereign, and live more like friends than servants with him. Yet the Court is not devoid of splendour and dignity. I have seen in it a numerous assembly of nobles sitting at a respectful distance along the walls of a magnificent apartment, while the select few surrounded the Raja's throne, and sometimes conversed, but oftener listened to the singing of dancing women.

"This part of the Raja's magnificence is what he seems most attached to, next to the diversion of tiger-hunting. All day and all night, the exhibition of music and dancing is continued, and so attached are the people of the place to that amusement, that even while taking the diversion of fishing they have a set of singers embarked with them in each boat. Of his fondness for tiger-hunting, I can give you no better proof than his quitting affairs of state for ten days together to go in pursuit of tigers. At this moment he is absent on such an excursion; in the course of which he killed four tigers in one day.

"Here let me close, for the present, a subject which may be resumed at some future occasion.

"Your affectionate son,

"H. T. Colebrooke."

The journal of his journey to Nagpoor, alluded to in the preceding letter, together with one of his homeward routes, was published in the Asiatic Annual Register for 1806. Another journal was kept at broken intervals, during his residence at Nagpoor, but it has never been published. Itis too bulky to bear insertion here; and the events narrated throw but little light on the pursuits and mode of life of the writer. It may, however, be interesting to remark upon the large portion which is devoted to a description of the Hindú festivals. One might pass over pages without its appearing to be anything but a record of such events.

I shall insert, however, passages of letters written at Nagpoor, which serve to carry on and illustrate, the history of his public life and private studies.

"..... Apropos of the causes of promotion, I must have ill described what Lord Wellesley said to me by way of compliment. I certainly did not understand from it that he had selected me 'for my abilities *merely*.' On the contrary, it was from his compliment, that I first learned that I had been strongly recommended to him. What I understood was, that he meant to impress me with the notion that my appointment was partly due to recommendation, which would not, however, have been sufficient, had it not not been confirmed by the character he found I bore in the country.

"You have probably heard that our Governor-General has established a College for Oriental Literature in Calcutta, and intends to establish a new Court of Appeal. It is reported that I am to be nominated a member of the new court, and a *professor* in the new college. Should this happen I shall be fixed at Calcutta, which is exactly what I now wish for.

"..... The drawings Mary told you of were a collection of drawings of birds, which remained unfinished because the painter had died; and I could not find another to fill up my original design of adding a botanical figure, with insects or fish, to each drawing. I have since given up that branch of natural history, and devoted myself to observe the vegetable kingdom only. I shall probably publish, on that subject, some time next year. It is by far the most

pleasing branch of natural history. My chief disgust to Ornithology, arises from feeling the cruelty of keeping birds pining for several days, while a draftsman is making a drawing of them. I hope to send a more numerous collection next winter.

" . . . . . My agent at Calcutta has very properly stopped the parcel containing a revised copy of Remarks on the Agriculture, &c., of Bengal, upon hearing that my friend, Mr. Lambert, is deceased. You must determine whether the work shall be published or suppressed. If there be real danger of a piratical publication, there is no choice; if not, the suppression will not be disagreeable to me. I do not seek fame from it, since my literary reputation will, I hope, be sufficiently established by my labours as an Orientalist. Whether or no the work would be palatable to Ministers and the Directors, it would certainly rouse a nest of hornets, by whom I may be stung. To gratify poor Lambert, I was willing to risk something. I must now chiefly consult my own peace.

" Lord Teignmouth gave you a very true account of the transactions relative to my undertaking the translation of the Digest. What Mr. Harrington told him, was nearly what I desired him to say. My pride was touched by the suggestion, that it would be expedient to devote myself solely to the work. I then refused any salary upon any conditions. It must always be remembered, also, that Lord Teignmouth was chiefly induced by those very circumstances to send me to Mirzapoor. I have been as much rewarded, and as much patronised, as I could expect or wish. Should you have any future opportunity, let me beg you to mention to Lord T. that I am grateful and contented.

" I find that I neglected to mention, that I had relinquished all intention of deriving any pecuniary benefit from the republication of the book. I abandoned all thoughts of that, as long ago as when the Government granted me a monthly allowance to remunerate past and future labours. In the Supplement now compiling, the criminal law is included; but it is not the chief subject, and will be much abridged, because it is of little use, since the Mussulman law supersedes it in practice. The chief topics are, the rules of special pleading and the law of evidence; both very important titles. Criminal law and ordeal, and the constitution of courts of justice, are curious, and not wholly useless, but much less important.

" This supplement advances slowly. The venerable old pundit employed by me at Benares, has supplied me with so little text that I have set about the compilation myself from the books I brought

with me. Notwithstanding my impatience, I still see the conclusion of it at a great distance, so many avocations prevent the regular prosecution of the work."

In a letter, written in January, 1801, and but few months later than the preceding, he mentions that his compilation and translation advance well. "Having prepared the materials, I am now putting them in order, and shall have made great progress, I hope, towards the close of the year. I mean, also, to furnish three or four essays to the Asiatic Society this year. One (in continuation of the subject of religious ceremonies), on marriages; it is so nearly completed as to require but one sitting more. Another on Sanscrit Prosody, which I am not, however, fully resolved on publishing. A third on the Indian Theogonies; and one on the *Védas* cannot, I fear, be completed until I get back to my library. A critical treatise on Indian plants is greatly advanced too; and I have several other little works on the anvil, enough to supply the Asiatic Researches with a couple of essays in each volume for several years to come. I am sure you interest yourself in my literary pursuits; and I therefore make no apology for troubling you with this detail."

This was his last letter from Nagpoor, but his next he writes from

"*Benares, July* 20, 1801.

"My dear Father,

"As ships are despatched from Calcutta almost every week, you will probably have received some intimation that may take away surprise at the date of this letter. I left Nagpoor two months ago; and, making forced marches the whole way, reached Mirzapoor in little more than a month. It was fortunate that I made the utmost expedition, for on the same evening that I reached Mirzapoor the rains set in with great violence. Had they caught me on the way, it would have been impracticable to proceed with so many people and cattle; and the camp would have been soon invaded by disease, common in hilly countries that are covered with forest.

"On my arrival at Mirzapoor I wrote down for orders, and after staying a week, came here to await instructions. As the Governor-General intends making a progress through these provinces next month, he has commanded me to wait for him here. I am availing myself of this interval of leisure to arrange for the press a good part of my own compilation of Hindú law. It is a most laborious work,

which has employed years of hard application, and will require a vast deal more labour for its completion.

"I have not yet the least hint what are the Governor-General's intentions regarding me. He has recorded his approbation of my conduct in terms very flattering, and my friends all suppose he intends to promote me. I do not, however, see at present any opening for it.

"While expecting his Excellency here, I have a good opportunity, which I do not let slip, of adding to my collection of manuscripts, and for conversing with learned pundits on the subject of them. I have lately picked up Commentaries on two of the Védas, and shall be able, with this help, to complete, for the eighth volume of Asiatic Researches, a treatise on the subject. The seventh volume, which is now in the press, will contain three essays of mine; two on religious ceremonies, and one on Indian languages. Possibly I may yet furnish a fourth.

"As a man who travels into foreign countries should not return empty handed, I have brought some curiosities, which I have thoughts of presenting to the Governor-General. There are some specimens of adamantine spar, and, what would come well from me, agates and other stones that are employed by the Hindús in their worship as types of the chief deities. I have added a complete assortment of the vessels used by Hindús in the worship of these pocket idols, if I may so call them. I shall reserve one set of these idols to be sent to you as specimens of Indian absurdity. In the mean time it may be sufficient to mention, that a small oval agate represents Mahádeo, or the god of destruction and reproduction; a globular cornelian, Ganés, the god of science and surmounter of obstacles; a crystal taw, the sun; a metallic one, Déví, the goddess of destruction; and the Sálgrám stone, Vishnu, the preserver and soul of the universe. These are the only gods really worshipped by the Hindús, by some severally, by others conjointly. Such as worship all five, place their types in the manner of a quincunx, giving the central place to that deity whom the person happens to hold in the greatest reverence.

"Your affectionate son,

"H. T. Colebrooke."

The preceding letter had not been long written, when he was appointed to the high office which rumour had already assigned to him. A High Court of Appeal was established in Calcutta (the present Sudder Dewany and Nizamut Adawlut), and Mr. Colebrooke was at once placed at the head. At the same time he received the

appointment of Sanscrit professor to the college for the education of the civil servants, then first established in Calcutta. The office was honorary in its nature, as he derived no emolument from it, and delivered no oral instruction; but the circumstance of his connexion with the college led to the compilation of his Sanscrit Grammar. He had, we have seen, occasionally entertained thoughts of publishing a work of that nature, and he now entered upon the task under a feeling of duty. In this spirit he wrote to his father shortly after his arrival at Calcutta.

"*Calcutta, October* 16.

"My chief literary occupation now is a Sanscrit Grammar. I undertook it because I accepted the professorship of Sanscrit in the college; and I am expediting the publication, that this may be one of the valuable legacies of the college, if it should die the death to which the Court of Directors have condemned it.

"This institution has already given occasion to many valuable publications on the Oriental languages and literature, and the proficiency of many of the students is truly astonishing. It has been well remarked, that it has called forth greater exertion of intellect in a shorter period than was ever before witnessed in a similar walk of science. In comparing this with other places for instruction for the Company's servants, it should be always observed, that if the institution be attended with some expense, yet the gratuitous assistance also of eminent men is obtained, assistance which cannot be purchased, nor could be obtained in an institution of less dignity."

The first volume of the Sanscrit Grammar was completed and published in 1805; but in consequence of the appearance of two other Grammars of the same language, one by Dr. Carey, and another by Dr. (afterwards Sir Charles) Wilkins, the further prosecution of the work was abandoned.

The extract here subjoined serves to carry on his literary history during the first two years of his residence in Calcutta.

"*October* 5, 1803.

"My dear Father,

"I have just had the pleasure of receiving a letter from you, dated 10th April. The Flora Indica, which I had mentioned, and concerning which you inquire, is at a stand, so far as my share of the undertaking goes. The botanical part, which falls to Dr. Roxburgh's share, is in great forwardness. No engravings are intended, as these, with fuller descriptions, are in course of publi-

cation at home. My share of the design is the insertion of Oriental Synonyma, with criticisms on them. But I have not had time to work upon that subject for more than a twelvemonth past. For the same reason my narrative of the journey to Nagpoor remains unfinished, and no essays have been completed for the next volume of Asiatic Researches. The Sanscrit Grammar, and the compilation of Law, both of which are matter of duty, advance but slowly. In short, continued labour, from morning until sunset, is insufficient for official duties; yet I am forced by circumstances, which I shall shortly advert to, by and by, to take upon myself the immediate task of editing the work which I have so long kept back. . . ."

The circumstances are detailed in a subsequent part of the letter. Extracts from the Treatise on Husbandry and Commerce had been printed in the Asiatic Annual Register, for 1802, and as the feelings under which it had been written were softened and altered by time, he deemed that he could not better show that the publication of those extracts was unauthorized, and not to be taken as evidence of the opinions he then held, than by printing an edition himself; this was accordingly done, and the treatise, as it appeared in England, contained only that portion which was the work of his pen, while the general tone of the work was considerably changed.

It is curious to observe him about this time, inclining again to treat on a subject of a political nature. The train of thought which leads to the expression of this desire is here given.

"The arrangements which have been made for the Indian shipping and private trade have been published here; they are not at all satisfactory. The points, which are essential, and which the Directors have so essentially resisted, must be obtained, and others of no less importance must be also carried against the Directors. British India, a greater empire than any Emperor of Delhi reigned over, must not be governed on the narrow principles of commercial monopoly. It is in the commerce of India, that England must find the increasing opulence which may enable it to sustain another war against the gigantic powers of the French empire, and it should be only governed in the mode that will most strengthen Great Britain. I feel much inclination to prepare a small tract on the topics that this view of the nature has suggested to me, but I apprehend that the inclination must not be indulged at present." [1]

Another extract carries on the history of his literary plans and studies, to the year 1805.

[1] It was never indulged.

". . . . I have nearly completed for the Asiatic Researches a treatise on the *Védas*. It had been my intention to let the eighth volume be published without any contribution of mine; but particular circumstances have induced me to finish a paper or two for the present volume, though compelled to suspend the progress of other works which I was anxious to bring to a close. Among others, the corrected edition of the Treatise on Husbandry suffers by the interruption.

"I have lately obtained a considerable addition of authentic and important information on the religion and mythology of the Buddhists. Everything relative to a religion, which has spread even more widely than the Christian or the Mahommedan faiths, is particularly interesting. I shall employ the first moment of leisure I can spare to publish this curious information, which will elucidate the accounts before obtained in China, Japan, Siam, Pegu, Ceylon, and Tibet. Captain Wilford, whose writings in the Asiatic Researches are known to you, has also prosecuted the same subject with considerable success; and will soon publish his lucubrations on that and on the long-expected theme of the British Isles as known to the Hindús. You will find in his treatises on those subjects very curious matter, but very little conviction."

The letter which follows was written in the same year as the foregoing. The subject with which it opens had given Mr. Colebrooke's family some annoyance, as the act there adverted to seemed to them to be an attempt to deprive him of the honour of translating the Digest of Hindú Law.

"My dear Father,

"I have seen in the newspaper an account of the monument, which Lady Jones has caused to be erected for her late husband. That account would certainly seem to imply that Sir William compiled and translated *the* Digest. I should suppose, however, that the design of the monument regards the translation of Menu. Lady Jones would surely not choose for the subject of the monument what cannot be claimed for him, when so many indisputable subjects presented themselves. By the by, the compilation of the Digest does no credit to the compiler, for the arrangement is not good. As for the other point you mention, the use of a translation by Wilkins without acknowledgment, I can bear testimony that Sir William Jones's own labours in Menu sufficed without the aid of a translation. He had carried an interlineary Latin

version through all the difficult chapters; he had read the original three times through, and he had carefully studied the commentaries. This I know, because it appears clearly so from the copies of Menu and his commentators which Sir William used, and which I have seen. I must think that he paid a sufficient compliment to Wilkins, when he said, that without his aid he should never have learned Sanscrit (Preface to Sacontala). I observe with regret a growing disposition, here and in England, to depreciate Sir William Jones's merits. It has not hitherto shown itself beyond private circles and conversation. Should the same disposition be manifested in print, I shall think myself bound to bear public testimony to his attainments in Sanscrit . . . ."

There are but few letters in my possession of a date later than the preceding, none of a kind to form the basis of a biographical sketch. It was to his father that he detailed the progress of his literary labours; and though many letters were doubtless written between 1805 and 1809, in which latter year his father died, yet none are extant. The narrative of his life will therefore proceed with more rapidity.

It has already been remarked, that up to the time of his appointment to the high office which removed him to Calcutta, his letters bear frequent testimony to the hopes which he entertained of being elevated to a seat in the Supreme Council—" the ultimate object of his ambition." But after that appointment took place, his feelings underwent a considerable change. He no longer manifested the same eagerness to rise to the higher post, nay, he sometimes exhibits decided indifference, and declares himself satisfied with the situation he then held. That situation being or a judicial nature, furnished employment of all others most congenial to his tastes and pursuits. He was a reader of Civil and Hindú Law throughout life, and his judicial duties coming round at stated and for specific times, his leisure could be more regularly devoted to literature and science. As a collector of revenue he was less a master of his own time, as his own letters written during the first years of his Indian career have already shown.

The extract from a letter, written in 1805, here subjoined, is expressive of the feelings he then held.

" I am grateful for the steps you have taken in consequence of what I wrote, not ambitious of a further rise, but content, if it be offered, to accept it. To speak truly, I have had a sufficient peep behind the curtain within a few years past to know the hollow

ground I should tread on, if raised to the highest station. I would not desire it, were it accessible to me, which I certainly think it never will be; and a seat in Council, with no ulterior views, is not to be coveted by one already holding the highest situation under Council."

Towards the close of the year 1805 he was elevated to the situation to which he had looked, during the past ten years, with alternate hope and indifference. By the rules of the service, the appointment takes place for a specific period; agreeably to which he vacated it at the end of five years. During this period he still retained his office of chief judge of the Sudder Dewany, one of the members of Council being at that time *ex officio* at the head of that court. With Mr. Colebrooke, however, the office was not merely an honorary distinction. His duties as a member of the Council not being burthensome, three or four days in every week were given to the judicial duties which the other office involved; and some of the valuable decisions, published in the reports of that court, were the fruits of his labours at this period.

A large proportion of his time was at all periods of his life taken up by the business of office. Those who knew him at Mirzapoor and Calcutta, inform me that official duties occupied scarcely less than eight hours in every day. The mornings and evenings were, therefore, the season of leisure. At the former place they were generally devoted to study; but the circumstances of his situation at Calcutta as well as natural inclination led him more into society, and it was less frequently the case that the evenings were available for literature. Still his interest in such pursuits was undiminished. He was regular in his attendance at the meetings of the Asiatic Society, of which he was the president, and contributed frequent and important memoirs to the volumes of its Transactions. It may be observed indeed, as the past will have in some measure shown, that his works did not owe their existence to occasions of retirement. His life in India was throughout one of constant occupation, and his literary undertakings were executed during the labour and anxieties of a public life.

It may be added as completing the picture of his active mind, that his reading kept pace with and included the current literature of the day. Even lighter works of a general nature were so familiar to him, that it was with difficulty that those who, at a later period of his life, used to supply him with such reading, could meet with works either of the standard literature of our language, or of a lighter cast, to which he had not already given a perusal.

It may be needless to add, that this picture of the diligent student

is only one half of the portrait. Great as the powers of mind were which could support such incessant labour, they fall short of those which were called forth by the execution of the tasks themselves. It is not to his having laboured so long, but to his having laboured so well, that he owes his reputation. Extensive as his works are, what he treated upon he treated profoundly, and left but little for others to glean after him.[1]

The Essay on the Védas, announced in a preceding page as nearly completed, was published in the eighth volume of the Researches, and constituted the first authentic account of those ancient works. It must have been a work of great labour, and could have been executed at any time by no one except himself, as, independently of the knowledge of Sanscrit which it demanded, the possession of the books themselves was not within the reach of any European, save one whose position commanded the respect, and whose character conciliated the confidence, of the Brahmans. It was also an advantage to be situated, as Mr. Colebrooke was, at Mirzapoor, where the chief part of the materials for the Essay were collected and translated, as that was at an easy distance from Benares, whence perhaps alone, at least in Upper India, competent assistance could be derived. The Essay was published in 1805, and is still the only authority available for information respecting the oldest and most important religious writings of the Hindús.

Mr. Colebrooke also observes in the same letter, that he had collected at the same period information regarding Buddhism, and this no doubt facilitated the preparation of a paper on the Jains, who are often confounded, as he observes, with the Buddhists, and have some notions in common with them. This was published in the ninth volume of the Researches; and in it he confirmed, or corrected from Sanscrit writings, the information gained by others from personal inquiry or observation. The same volume contained another important paper, to which it is the more necessary to advert as it treated of the only subject on which his authority was ever disputed, and on which, after long forbearance, he thought it necessary to vindicate his opinions,—the Astronomy of the Hindús.

In the ninth volume of the Asiatic Researches, published in 1807, appears a paper by Mr. Colebrooke, on the Indian and Arabian divisions of the zodiac, giving the results of an inquiry which, as he states, had been at intervals relinquished and resumed. The

[1] These observations on Mr. Colebrooke's Essays on the Védas and the Jains, and the notice of his controversy with Mr. Bentley, are from the pen of Professor Wilson.

astronomy of the Hindús had, as might be expected from the tenour of his studies and tone of his mind, been always a favourite topic with him; and on this occasion, as on a subsequent one in the twelfth volume of the Researches, he displayed a profound acquaintance with the writings of Hindú astronomers, as well as with the principles of the science. On this branch of Mr. Colebrooke's labours may be most seasonably used the expressions of a scholar, in like manner qualified by high Sanscrit and mathematical attainments to pronounce an opinion. In the notice of Mr. Colebrooke's contributions to Sanscrit literature, drawn up at the request of the Asiatic Society of Bengal by the Rev. Principal Mill, the following is the account given of his articles on Hindú astronomy.

"To this deeply interesting subject of inquiry, none has so completely brought the qualification desiderated by Ideler, the union of Sanscrit learning with competent astronomical science. The account of the Indian and Arabian divisions of the zodiac, in the ninth volume,—and the essay in the twelfth, on the notions of the Hindú mathematicians respecting the precession of the equinoxes and the motions of the planets,—are most valuable contributions to our knowledge on this subject. They are the best corrections to the extravagant notions of Indian antiquity, which the preceding speculations of Bailly and others had deduced from imperfect notices of the Hindú observations, and also to the crude and fanciful speculations with which a writer on the opposite side, the late Mr. Bentley, had unhappily adulterated some valuable and interesting calculations."

This reference to Mr. Bentley leads us to the controversy above alluded to. A paper published by that gentleman, in the sixth volume of the Asiatic Researches, was rather severely criticised in the first number of the Edinburgh Review. The reviewer was, it is believed, Professor Hamilton; but Mr. Bentley ascribed its origin, if not its composition, to Mr. Colebrooke. There does not appear to have been any reason whatever for such a supposition, but it took strong hold of Mr. Bentley's mind, and in his writings as well as in his personal intercourse with Mr. Colebrooke it exercised an unfortunate and painful influence. Whatever opinion Mr. Colebrooke might have entertained of Mr. Bentley's views, which are described by Dr. Mill as crude and fanciful, they are never adverted to in Mr. Colebrooke's writings, in any but a liberal and candid tone; and in his personal conduct towards Mr. Bentley, those who were acquainted with both, well know that there prevailed at all times a kindly and conciliatory spirit. The animosity inspired by his supposed participa-

tion in the obnoxious review was, however, not to be appeased; and in Mr. Bentley's last and posthumous publication, besides a virulent attack in the preface, professedly upon his reviewer, but evidently levelled at a different person, he devotes the closing chapter to the refutation of some of Mr. Colebrooke's assertions and positions, accusing him not only of unintentional error, but of wilful misrepresentation, or unfair suppression of the truth. These imputations Mr. Colebrooke thought it right to notice, however averse from controversial writing. His answer was accordingly published in the Asiatic Journal, March, 1826. It is short, dispassionate, and conclusive, and is of itself a sufficient refutation of Mr. Bentley's injustice in attributing to Mr. Colebrooke any other motive than a wish to investigate and promulgate the truth. It is as evident from the character of this paper, as it is certain from personal knowledge, that Mr. Colebrooke's concluding remarks are wholly borne out by the fact, when he says, "I never spoke nor wrote of Mr. Bentley with disrespect; and I gave no provocation for the tone of his attack on me."

In 1808 he contributed to the Transactions of the Asiatic Society an Essay on the Sanscrit and Procrit poetry, which is remarkable as being the only occasion on which he sought to create an interest by anything beyond a plain detail of facts. It was originally no more than a treatise on prosody; fearing, however, that the subject was too dry and heavy for publication, he attempted to relieve these defects by inserting frequent selections from the Sanscrit poets. The work, in its amended form, was published eight years (so long did his hesitation continue) after it was first written.

On all other occasions he had studiously avoided anything beyond a plain survey of the subject treated on. His style itself (if I may be allowed to criticise a father's writings), was too stiff for lighter compositions, perhaps too artificial. It was formed early, his extensive reading having given him a command of the English language, and it had a clearness and precision which well suited the scientific subjects on which his pen was chiefly engaged, but it had not the flexibility that enabled him to treat on such a subject with the liveliness and variety that is required to attract the general reader. He was himself conscious of the unattractive nature of his style, and pleaded the fact in answer to a friend who was recommending him to translate some specimens of the Hindú theatre.

It was unusually so for one who had read so largely in poetry. But he, indeed, was a singular instance of a person having read so much without its being to him a source on which he would constantly

draw in his hours of relaxation. It scarcely amounted to a decided taste, for he seldom, if ever, read any poem more than once, and inclined rather towards the prettinesses of poetry than to higher efforts of imagination. His great stores of poetical reading had been accumulated at times when other sources of literary amusement were not available. Thus at Nagpoor, having read through all the books which he had taken with him on his embassy to that court, he had recourse to an edition of the British Poets, in the possession of an officer at the station, which he read completely through.[1]

Although his tastes did not incline towards works of imagination generally, yet I have never seen a person on whom they produced a greater effect. In his advanced years he was compelled to seek amusement from that branch of literature, and would become deeply interested in some of those works which he read. Tragic tales affected him painfully, so much so that he shunned reading them.

I have said that he rarely read any poem more than once, I may add that he rarely read any prose author more than once either. His memory was so good that it was irksome to him to take up any literary work to which he had already given a perusal. He has told me that when young his deeper studies were usually pursued at night, and that it was no unfrequent occurrence for him to read himself stupid. During the last half hour or so of his vigils his head became confused, but when he arose in the morning, he found the subject of his reading (commonly mathematics) fresh in his mind.

I turn from this digression to notice a work which he himself valued as much, if not more, than any other of his literary labours of a legal nature.

In 1810 were published by him translations of the two most celebrated treatises on the Hindú Law of Inheritance, regarded as the leading authorities of the two great schools of law which divide India. The design took its origin in the state of his labours on the Supplementary Digest, a compilation of the law of successions having formed a part of that design. The work had advanced but little since his arrival at Calcutta, and as he had not much hopes of seeing a speedy termination to his labours, he deemed it right to place before the public as much as he could there effect; and the highest advantage, he conceived, would arise from the publication, in a complete form, of these two treatises, from which the student

[1] In the same way on two other occasions his mind was turned to a course of reading not familiar to him. On his voyage to India he exhausted his own stock of books, and he took to the surgeon's, and read them through also. I forget the other occasion. It was medicine again.

would be enabled to collect at one view the leading doctrines of each school, a task which could scarcely be effected through a compilation of a general, and necessarily complex, nature.

It may be deserving of mention here, in proof of the different estimation in which he regarded two of his publications, that it having been suggested to him, at a later period of his life, to publish a complete edition of his works, he made inquiries as to the degree in which they were severally in request; when it appeared that there was an occasional demand for the Digest, which was not the case with regard to the treatises on Inheritance. The circumstance surprised him, as he valued the former the least of the two, and he would not publish the Digest, for which there was some demand, and leave out the other, for which there was apparently none.

During the last few years of his residence in India, he was much interested in the inquiries that the doubtful question of the height of the Himalaya mountains had given rise to. The subject had, indeed, engaged his attention for some time past, and the body of evidence by which he sought to determine the problem was the accumulation of twenty years.

Stationed at Purneah, and living constantly within sight of those mountains, his attention had been first directed to the question of their height. The fact of their being visible as a connected chain at a distance of, at the least, one hundred and fifty miles, made him, as it had made others, suspect that their height had been hitherto much underrated. The result of observations taken at that time, with no better measurement of the distance than laid down in Rennell's map, assigned to one of the peaks an elevation of twenty-six thousand feet, and gave strength to the suspicions first raised. Further information corroborated his opinion. Captain Turner, in his journey into Tibet, the account of which was published in 1800, was supposed to have established the fact, that one of the peaks was distant not less than two hundred and thirty-two statute miles from the extreme point in the plains of Bengal at which it was visible, and this in the mean state of the atmosphere requires an elevation of twenty-eight thousand feet.

Succeeding years brought out additional information. During the survey of a very considerable part of the chain by Lieutenant-Colonel Crawford in 1805, some of the most conspicuous peaks were measured, and an elevation by him assigned to them equal to that originally computed by Mr. Colebrooke.

The journal of this survey being lost, or supposed to be lost, the measurements were for all scientific purposes useless. But the

circumstance of every successive guess or measurement thus tending to the same conclusion, seemed to render the subject worthy of more careful investigation. He pressed it upon the notice of his relative, Lieutenant-Colonel Colebrooke, then surveyor-general, whose attention had been also drawn to the subject by the communication of Colonel Crawford, and he entered upon the investigation with zeal.

Nearly about the same time the circumstance of the vague knowledge that the public possessed concerning the course of the Ganges up to its source, had also engaged their notice, and a survey was undertaken (very much at the instance of Mr. Colebrooke), for the purpose of clearing up the doubtful question of geography; the two discoveries therefore proceeded together.

Colonel Colebrooke intended to have conducted the survey himself, but a severe illness, which ultimately terminated in his death, caused the execution of the task to devolve upon his assistant, Lieutenant Webb. The narrative of that survey was presented to the Asiatic Society in 1810, with some prefatory remarks by Mr. Colebrooke, in which he expresses a guarded opinion concerning the height of the chain; but the measurements taken on this occasion could not be relied upon in themselves.

Nor was the question set at rest by observations taken by Colonel Colebrooke from the plains of Rohilcund. The results, indeed, were similar to those first arrived at, but the distances were not determined with sufficient precision for scientific purposes. At last, however, observations were furnished to him of that degree of carefulness, as, in the opinion of Mr. Colebrooke, to resolve the question. Those observations consisted of two important sets. The first of these were the fruits of Colonel Crawford's trigonometrical survey in Nepal, in the course of which four of the peaks being carefully measured, they were found to amount, the most lofty to 24,640 feet, the lowest to 22,319.

Secondly, a high peak, seen from the plains of Gorackpoor, was measured by Lieutenant Webb, by bearings taken from four stations and altitudes from three in that province, and the mean of those observations led to the conclusion that it was of the amazing height of 27,550 feet.

The rough guesses and approximations before arrived at having been corroborated in so singular a manner by the accurate observations now made, Mr. Colebrooke deemed the evidence, which had completely convinced him, sufficiently strong to be given to the world; and he published the result of the whole in the twelfth volume of the Asiatic Researches.

In this essay the only observations relied upon as proofs are the two last. But the singular circumstance of their tallying so closely with every other that had been made, was too important to be omitted. On the one hand, the strongest presumption was raised, that an accurate observation would give a height considerably exceeding that of Mount Chimborazo. On the other hand, this was actually shown to be the case by the observations made.

The conclusion, however, was controverted. The early rough calculations and measurements, instead of being treated as a body of evidence, were examined separately, and thus examined were severally declared wanting, and set aside, while those on which the stress of the argument was rested were rejected, as being too few in number to establish the accuracy of observations taken at such great distances. The uncertainty regarding the amount of refraction in such circumstances would, it was argued, vitiate the whole reasoning. While the matter was thus declared doubtful, the cessation of the war in Nepal threw open the country to the researches of science. The measure of the Dhawalagiri by Captain Webb, was confirmed by that of the same mountain by Captain Blake, the result of which differed from the preceding by only twenty-seven or sixty-four feet; while the survey of a considerable portion of the chain, in a series of observations, barometric and geometric, conducted by Captains Webb and Hodgson, fully established the accuracy of the conclusions before arrived at. The results of this survey, supplying measurements of more than two hundred elevated positions, taken by different individuals at different times, varying distances, and with different means, at last forced conviction on the minds of the most unwilling.

I have been thus particular in relating the history of this discovery, on account of the great interest Mr. Colebrooke took in its progress. The share that he had in drawing attention to the subject, in guiding the inquiries, in giving the results to the world, in contending against objectors, and in finally establishing the fame of the Himalaya, was to him a source of continued satisfaction and delight. "I call them *my* mountains," he used to say in a tone almost of affection.

To keep the history of this discovery more connected, I have carried on the narrative through the course of many years. The triumph of the Old World over the New, was not finally achieved until 1819, or later. I revert to an earlier period, and circumstances of a very different nature.

In 1810 he married Elizabeth, the daughter of Johnson Wilkin-

son, Esq. Their union, however, was of short duration. The loss of one of their children, and the constant anxiety suffered by Mrs. Colebrooke during its long illness, injured her health and occasioned (too common in India) a predisposition to fever, which finally carried her off.

This severe blow, which affected the happiness of his remaining days, fell upon him just at a time when his family were about to proceed to Europe. He returned thither early in 1815.

Upon his arrival in England he resided with his mother near Bath, from whence in the next year they removed to the neighbourhood of London, and this city became the chief place of his abode for the rest of his life. He was there better enabled to follow up his literary and scientific pursuits than a residence in India would allow of, and he could now enjoy more fully the society of persons of tastes congenial to his own. Having become a member of the principal scientific institutions of London, he passed much of his time in the society which they afforded.

At this period his mind certainly disposed him far more towards the pursuit of science than it had hitherto done. He wrote more largely upon scientific subjects, occasionally giving essays to the Transactions of the Scientific Societies, and being a frequent contributor to the Quarterly Journal of Science. He became very much devoted to chemical experiments, to which he would turn for relaxation from severer studies. He was one of the original founders of the Astronomical Society; in the proceedings of which he took the greatest interest, having from early youth acquired a fondness for mathematical studies. In allusion to this he would occasionally say that he thought nature had intended him for a mathematician, and that he mistook his bent when he followed other pursuits. A singular observation, since it may be doubtful if he could have engaged in a pursuit so eminently qualified to call forth his varied and profound knowledge, as in laying open the stores of a hitherto unknown literature.

The observation was by me interpreted into something of regret, that he had not devoted more of his time to science than to the literature of the East. He was very anxious that his sons should engage in scientific pursuits, and never lost an opportunity of fostering any inclination to them that they might have at any time displayed, a desire that he did not in any degree exhibit in regard to Oriental literature. When the writer of this memoir was proceeding to India in 1832, his father was urgent in recommending to him the study of the Sanscrit language, on account of its utility to a member of the

civil service; but he never expressed the slightest hope that I should imitate his example, or turn to Oriental study, except so far as it was connected with professional pursuits.

Circumstances like these raised in me the impression that science was held in far higher estimation by him, but the conclusion that I arrived at depended on the tone of his general conversation, and on those numberless particulars in words and actions which fall under the notice of one who lives in constant and unreserved intercourse with another. It would be tedious, indeed, difficult to detail them. The opinion we form of another's mind will remain, when the circumstances which gave rise to it are forgotten.

The topic of "advice" leads me to mention one or two points frequently urged by him, and connected with his own habits of reading. It may interest many linguists to know that he was strongly in favour of the mode of instruction by translations, being that which he had adopted in his own case. His advice was to read rapidly, and with the assistance of a translation. He was ever anxious to see systematic plans of study. It had been his constant practice throughout life to task himself to a certain course every day, and the task soon became a pleasure.

Before I turn from this digression to notice his principal literary labours after his arrival in England, I should mention the circumstance of his having shortly after that event presented to the East India Company his library of Sanscrit manuscripts, a collection, the growth of many years and purchased at a very considerable expense.[1] Mentioning on one occasion the feelings which had influenced him to make the present, he said that he felt such a collection could not be kept entirely to himself, nor could he grudge to Oriental students the liberty of perusing the store of works brought within their reach; and he deemed it would be more beneficial to Oriental science, as well as more agreeable to himself, if it could be placed in a library, like that of the India House, where it might be accessible to all.

His earliest labour, after his arrival in England, was to prepare for publication a work on which he had been engaged during his homeward voyage. It consisted of a translation of the most celebrated treatises on Indian Algebra, accompanied by a dissertation on the state of the science as cultivated by the Hindús. The subject is interesting in the history of his writings, as being (as I have already mentioned) that which first led him to the study of the

[1] I speak from the recollection of many years, but I think he said that it had cost him, from first to last, about 10,000*l.*

Sanscrit language, and which was laid aside for about twenty years. During this interval the subject had not been neglected by other Orientalists. Information had been communicated to the public by Mr. Edward Strachey, but the knowledge of the state of the science was then derived only through the medium of Persian translations. Latterly one original treatise was translated by Dr. Taylor; but it appeared at Bombay only one year previous to that which now engages our attention. It was reserved for Mr. Colebrooke to collect larger materials, from which a judgment might be formed concerning the scientific knowledge of the Hindú Algebraists, and (contrary to his wont) to bring all his stores of learning to bear upon the subject, so as to complete one important chapter in the history of the science.

The important addition made to the materials already existing, consisted in portions of a work by one of the more ancient writers, the date of which, and of the more modern compilations, he was enabled, through his ample knowledge of the mathematical writings of the Hindús, to determine with no slight precision. The more celebrated treatise was clearly shown to have been written in the twelfth century, while the author of the more ancient, from which the others were professedly compiled, flourished as early as the middle of the seventh. Thence tracing up to the sources from which the knowledge of the science was originally derived, a strong presumption was raised that the more ancient writers had cultivated the science at an age at the least two centuries earlier.

An interesting question was thus raised, whether the Indian algebra was coeval with, or preceded by, the knowledge of the same science among the Greeks, the treatise of Diophantus (as far as the date can be fixed), having been written A.D. 360.

The information possessed concerning the state of the science at an early period, being vague and dependant upon the works extant, or upon obscure intimations conveyed in later commentators, the comparison could only be instituted between the works themselves, and Mr. Colebrooke accordingly entered fully upon an examination of this branch of the subject, in order to trace which of the Greek, Indian, or Arabian authors (for these latter were also included in the survey), had made the greatest progress in the science.

To follow him through the details of this survey, would be foreign to the object of this sketch. It may be sufficient to notice that, setting aside the Arabians who had cultivated the science four centuries later, the question between the other two, whether either

nation had in any way derived their knowledge from the other, was fully discussed, and some interesting and important conclusions were arrived at. Thus among the Indian algebraists it had arrived at the state of a well-arranged science at the earliest periods to which it can be traced, while some of its branches had been cultivated, to which it is not presumable that the Greeks had attained; and further, the curious circumstance was brought to light of their having anticipated discoveries which had exercised the intellect of some of the most celebrated mathematicians of modern times.

Of the manner in which the task that Mr. Colebrooke proposed to himself was executed, it will be for those more qualified to decide. Allusions might be made to the digressions appended to the dissertation, as illustrative of the comprehensive nature of his survey, and the variety of information with which it is enriched; but the world has already stamped its value on the work, and my only object, which was to give a sketch of his labours, is already answered.

In the year following the appearance of this treatise, was published a tract on the Import of Colonial Corn; the object of which was to propose a partial relief to the colonies from the restrictions on their trade, and to place them all upon an equal footing, an uudue advantage having been given to the North American colonies, in allowing their corn to be entered for home consumption at times when the corn of the other colonies was still excluded.

His attention may have been immediately directed to this subject, by his having made a purchase of some landed property at the Cape of Good Hope, soon after he left India; but the views which the treatise contains were the accumulation of many years' reflection and study. Some of them we trace as far back as the date of his writings on the Commerce of Bengal.

The arguments which are adduced to support the proposal are of a very general, and, in some places, complex nature; they were, indeed, so general as to lessen the probability of their producing an effect upon the public mind. He enters largely upon the question of the advantages of colonies. He urges the necessity of fostering their produce, and of encouraging emigration. From thence his mind was led to examine the existing bars to colonial improvement, and to make the proposal for the modification in the laws, with which the treatise commences.

In the same year (1818) he published the first part of a treatise on Obligations and Contracts. It contained a rigid summary or abstract of the doctrines of the civil law on this subject, and was

intended to give in a comprehensive view the whole of this branch of the science. A second part, with a preface and introductory matter, was to have succeeded the first, but it was never completed.

Essays and writings of a miscellaneous nature occupied him during the few years subsequent to this work, among which may be numbered several which the interesting question of the height of the Himalaya gave rise to. In 1821 he undertook a voyage to the Cape of Good Hope, in consequence of the involved state of his property at that colony, and it occasioned an absence of several months. We trace the speculations of the voyager in his miscellaneous writings of that period.

An extract from a letter, written in March of the year following his return, gives the state in which his literary labours then stood. " Nothing has been published by me on the Law of Contracts, nor any other topic of jurisprudence, since the treatise on Obligations, which I published a few years ago as the first part of a larger work. Shortly afterwards, while I was preparing the sequel of it for the press, I became involved in most vexatious proceedings in chancery, by which I was so much harassed for many years, that I could attend to nothing else requiring any stretch of application. Since those troublesome proceedings were terminated (which was a little before my trip to the Cape), I have been unable to resume the habits requisite to the prosecution of that work, nor do I now expect to be able to do so. I have neither health nor spirits for the undertaking, and cannot bring myself to make the effort of setting about it. I do not think I shall ever execute any other task which requires continued attention and uninterrupted application.

" I have it in contemplation to prepare a preface and introduction to the Treatise on Obligations, as a single work, and give it with the notice of my final relinquishment of the greater work. The treatise is complete in itself, wanting nothing but a preface.

" The Supplementary Digest which I long ago announced, has been many years by me complete in Sanscrit, and in great forwardness in translation, and might be sent to the press at very short warning, and finished as the press proceeded. But I have been deterred from the publication, observing it to be very little called for; and unless I should perceive such a call, I shall let it remain unfinished."

The first part of the Treatise on Obligations had met with a very indifferent reception, and this, combined with the causes above detailed, led to the abandonment of all thoughts of prosecuting the subject.

Nor was the other work alluded to ever completed. The only product of his long labours on the Supplementary Digest, consisted in an Essay on Hindú Courts of Justice, presented to the Asiatic Society in 1828, which comprises part of the information collected in that voluminous compilation.

Shortly after his return to England, he had a principal share in the instituting a Society for the Promotion of Oriental Literature, in the Transactions of which most of the essays subsequently written by him appeared. In the design other Orientalists zealously co-operated; and the Society (the Royal Asiatic) soon arrived at fame and dignity. A wish was expressed by some of his friends that he should be elevated to the Presidentship, to this, however, he objected, as the Society he conceived would assume more importance from being presided over by one of a higher station in society than himself. The office of Director was apparently created for him.

His first contribution to its Transactions (if we except a Discourse on the Objects of the Institution), was the commencement of a series of Essays on the Hindú Philosophy, a most laborious task considering the state of his health. It employed him during the several subsequent years, and was, in fact, the last great labour that he undertook.

The work itself contained a simple exposition of the doctrines and opinions of the various sects of Hindú Philosophers. In giving this he has occasion to notice points of resemblance between their doctrines and those of Grecian schools. More, however, was to have been expected from his pen. At the conclusion of the fifth and last part, he proposes to pursue the parallel more closely in a future essay. But his literary labours were then about to cease, and this interesting part of his design was never fulfilled.

This sketch would be incomplete, if I did not advert to some of the circumstances under which the last years of his literary life were passed. They consisted of a succession of family misfortunes, under which, combined with other cares and distresses, his health gradually sunk.

I pass over the loss of his mother, who died at an advanced age four years after he was united to her society, and that of younger members of his family of whom he was deprived in early childhood. The severest trials that he underwent, after the loss of his wife already adverted to, consisted in the circumstance of the several members of an united family falling away, one by one, around him, just when they were arriving at an age when the hopes which attach

to childhood assume a more definite shape, and their blight renders the loss the severest.

Shortly after his return to England his family circle had been enlarged, the guardianship of two nieces devolving upon him. Between them and their uncle, from their natural disposition and some peculiar circumstances in which they were placed, the strongest attachment grew up; they were, in fact, to him like daughters. Both, however, were lost. He was met on his return to England from the Cape of Good Hope by the shocking intelligence of the death of the youngest; and after an interval of about three years, the eldest, who had shortly before been happily married, was as suddenly carried off.

After another interval of three years, when he had begun to recover from the effects of these calamities, he was again bowed down by the sudden death of one of his sons. I know it adds but little to the narrative of sorrow like this to mention anything beyond the mere fact of the breaking of such close and affectionate ties; but in this, as in the former cases, the blow fell the severer, since the object of his love was also the object of the highest hope and pride. The son now lost was of brilliant talents, and united to his father by some similarity in his tastes, and by similar methods of study.

While the short intervals of happiness which he enjoyed were thus broken in upon by sorrow, and to these heavier calamities were superadded cares of another nature, his health began rapidly to fail him. He had unfortunately embarked much of his fortune in speculations which involved him in frequent losses, and even for a time occasioned a dread of total ruin. It preyed upon his mind; and, although he was not debarred from study, his constitution was too far shattered for him to pursue an uninterrupted course of reading. In this state he remained until 1829.

His literary labours, which had been interrupted by occasional attacks of illness, were here brought to a termination, by a dangerous and alarming attack which carried him almost to his grave. The weak state to which he was reduced, and the increasing failure of his eyesight, compelled him to give up study altogether.

It remains but to trace his life to its melancholy close. He gradually recovered his strength, and for three years enjoyed comparative health, if that can be called health where a person is reduced to almost total blindness, and rarely free from ailment of one kind or other. In the autumn of 1832 his sufferings assumed a new character, and at first with an alarming increase of severity.

Pains declared themselves in the region of the back, which, however much they may have varied from day to day, were unintermitting up to the hour of his death. The nature of the complaint he now suffered from rendered him almost entirely helpless. He quitted his bed only to be supported to a couch, and latterly the general debility which the keeping a reclining posture brought on, prevented his sitting up at all. The last three years were passed entirely on his back, and never free from pain. Yet in this prolonged misery (and his sufferings were occasionally agonizing), he scarcely uttered a complaint, and never alluded to his situation except when asking for assistance to have his posture changed.

Still his mind remained as active as ever; he found constant employment in the subjects of his reading, and took a lively interest in the politics of the day. The only occasions on which I have seen his mind at all disposed to give way arose from his deafness, which sometimes increased to such a degree as to threaten a total loss of hearing: the dread of being altogether shut out from the world deeply affected him. His deafness, like his other ailments, varied from time to time, sometimes being so great, that to keep up a conversation was impossible, and his amusement was confined to literature alone, for he could understand what was read to him in a continuous course, when he could not catch the broken remarks of conversation.

In this melancholy condition, his family circle narrowed by the loss of so many of those that were most dear to him, he was to encounter a blow in the loss of his eldest son, the severity of which can only be appreciated by those who knew what that son was. It were painful, indeed fruitless, to recall the hopes which those who knew him entertained regarding his future career. I only allude to those hopes as part of the life I am now recording. The reader will judge how dreadfully they were destroyed, when I mention that the relation between them seemed scarcely that of father and son, so singular was the ascendancy which his son had acquired over his father's mind, as indeed he did over most of those with whom he associated. The writer of these pages well remembers how constantly (even long before his brother had completed his education), his father sought his opinion, and deferred to his judgment; and this disposition grew upon him with advancing years, and in proportion to the growth of his son's mind towards maturity. The loss, already adverted to, of a son, perhaps only inferior in abilities to the one last taken away on account of the earlier age at which he died, made their father centre his thoughts and hopes more closely

on him that remained, and he now absorbed every feeling of the mind. He was deprived in him not merely of an affectionate son, constantly at the sick bed of his father; but he lost one who seemed to guide his opinions, as he did, during the last years of his life, direct his religious reading. "He was my master," exclaimed the sorrowing parent after his loss.

And now, in the depth of his sorrow, he found in religion that consolation which seemed denied to him in this world. In proportion as his mind became more closely centred on the world to which his son had preceded him, did his whole manner assume a holier aspect. His temper, which under the first attacks of illness had a disposition towards fretfulness, now under the severity of suffering became inexpressibly sweet. The calmness and resignation with which he bore the accumulation of sorrow and suffering, increased in proportion as his mind was tried.

His last earthly hope lay in the return from India of his youngest son, the only survivor of a once smiling family. He had that consolation, and the last year of suffering was passed in his society. When the writer of this memoir returned to his home, which was nearly a year after the sad event, he found his father in the state of religious resignation above described, in which he passed the decline of his existence.

In January, 1837, he was attacked by the epidemic then so prevalent. This, indeed, left him, but he was so weakened by its effects, that but faint hopes were entertained of his recovery. He rallied however, and for a time he seemed to be regaining his strength; but after a fortnight had passed in this uncertain state, a second attack gave him so violent a shock, that it became evident that his dissolution was at hand. For ten days he gradually declined; free, indeed, from any positive disorder, but latterly so reduced as to be almost incapable of speaking. At length, on the 10th of March, the scene was brought to a close. The frame was worn out.

I shall here bring this sketch to a conclusion. The object with which it was commenced was to supply some scattered notices of his life to those who were already interested in the individual, not to attempt a formal estimate of the value of his productions. The former object, so far as lay within my power, has been completed; the latter is what I do not feel competent to attempt. Others, indeed, far more qualified to judge than the writer of these pages, have affixed their value to the author's works. All, therefore, that remains is to subjoin a list of those works, which will serve more fully

than the irregular course of this narrative, to convey an impression of his acquirements and labours.

Mr. Colebrooke at the time of his death was a Fellow of the Royal Societies of London and Edinburgh; a Member of the Royal Asiatic Society of London, and Asiatic Society of Calcutta, and of the Literary Society of Bombay; Fellow of the Astronomical, Geological, Linnæan, and Zoological Societies; Foreign Member of the Royal Academy of Paris, Imperial Academy of St. Petersburgh, and of the Royal Academy of Munich.

LIST OF WORKS.

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The Amara Kosha, a Sanscrit Lexicon, with marginal translations. Serampore, 1808.

Translations of two treatises of the Hindú Law of Inheritance, or of the Dayabhuge of Jimútavahana and Yajriyavalkyn. Calcutta, 1810.

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I. On the Duties of a faithful Hindú Widow. (Vol. iv., p. 209—219.) 1795.

II. Enumeration of Indian Classes. (Vol. v., p. 53—67.) 1798.

III. On Indian Weights and Measures. (Vol. v., p. 91—109.) 1798.

IV. On the Religious Ceremonies of the Hindús, and of the Bráhmans especially. Essay I. (Vol. v., p. 345—368.) 1798.

V. Translation of one of the Inscriptions on the Pillar at Delhí, called the Lát of Fírúz Sháh. (Vol. vii., p. 179—182.) 1801.

VI. On the Sanscrit and Pracrit Languages. (Vol. vii., p. 199—231.) 1801.

VII. On the Religious Ceremonies of the Hindús, and of the Brahmans especially. Essay II. (Vol. vii., p. 232—285.) 1801.

VIII. On the Religious Ceremonies of the Hindús, and of the Brahmans especially. Essay III. (Vol. vii., p. 288—311.) 1801.

IX. On the Védas, or Sacred Writings of the Hindús. (Vol. viii., p. 369—476.) 1805.

X. Description of a species of Ox named Gayál. (Vol. viii., p. 487—501.) 1805.

XI. Observations on the Sect of Jains. (Vol. ix., p. 287—322.) 1807.
XII. On the Indian and Arabian Divisions of the Zodiac. (Vol. ix., p. 323—376.) 1807.
XIII. On Olibanum, or Frankincense. (Vol. ix., p. 377—382.) 1807.
XIV. On Ancient Monuments containing Hindú Inscriptions. (Vol. ix., p. 398—445.) 1807.
XV. On Sanscrit and Pracrit Poetry. (Vol. x., p. 387—474.) 1808.
XVI. On the Sources of the Ganges in the Himadri, or Emodus. (Vol. xi., p. 429—445.) 1810.
XVII. On the Notions of Hindú Astronomers concerning the Precession of the Equinoxes and Motions of the Planets. (Vol. xii., p. 209—250.) 1816.
XVIII. On the Heights of the Himalaya Mountains. (Vol. xii., p. 251—285. 1816.
XIX. On the Dryobalanops Camphora, or Camphor Tree of Sumatra. (Vol. xii., p. 535—541.) 1816.

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I. A Discourse delivered at the first General Meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, on the 15th of March, 1823. (Vol. i., p. 17—23.)
II. On the Philosophy of the Hindús, Part I. On the Sanc'hya System. (Vol. i., p. 19—43.) Read June 21, 1823.
III. On the Philosophy of the Hindús, Part II. On the Nyáya and Vaíśeshica Systems. (Vol. i., p. 92—118.) Read June 21, 1824.
IV. Explanation of Inscriptions upon Rocks in South Bihár. (Vol. i., p. 201—206.) Read Dec. 4, 1824.
V. Translation of three Grants of Land, inscribed on Copper, found at Ujjayaní. (Vol. i., p. 230—239, and 462—466.) Read Dec. 4, 1824.
VI. Remarks on the Valley of Setlej River, from the Journal of Captain A. Gerard. (Vol. i., p. 343—380.) Read Dec. 3, 1825.
VII. On the Philosophy of the Hindús, Part III. On the Mímánsá. (Vol. i., p. 439—466.) Read March 4, 1826.
VIII. On Inscriptions at Temples of the Jaina Sect, in South Bihár. (Vol. i., p. 520—523.) Read Nov. 18, 1826.
IX. On the Philosophy of the Hindús, Part IV. On Indian Sectaries. (Vol. i., p. 549—559.) Read Feb. 3, 1827.
X. On the Philosophy of the Hindús, Part V. On the Védánta. (Vol. ii., p. 1—39.) Read April 27, 1827.
XI. On Hindú Courts of Justice. (Vol. ii., p. 166—196.) Read May 24, 1828.

Published in the Quarterly Journal of Science.

I. On the Height of the Himalaya Mountains. (Vol. vi., p. 51—65.) 1819.
II. Description of two Micrometers, designed and used as Pyrometers. (Vol. vi., p. 230—236.) 1819.
III. An Hypothesis to account for the variable depth of the Ocean. (Vol. vi., p. 236—242.) 1819.
IV. On the Limit of constant Congelation on the Himalaya Mountains. (Vol. vii., p. 38—43.) 1819.
V. On Useful Projects. (Vol. vii., p. 48—55.)

VI. On Fluidity, and an Hypothesis concerning the Structure of the Earth. (Vol. ix., p. 52—61.) 1820.

VII. Account of the Method of preparing a black Resinous Varnish, used at Silhet in Bengal. (Vol. x., p. 315, 316.) 1821.

VIII. On the Height of the Dhawalagiri, or White Mountain of Himalaya. (Vol. xi., p. 240—247.) 1821.

IX. Meteorological Observations in a Voyage across the Atlantic. (Vol. xiv., p. 115—141.) 1823.

X. On the Climate of South Africa. (Vol. xiv., p. 241—254.) 1823.

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I. Description of select Indian Plants. (Vol. xii., 351—361.) Read April 15, 1817.

II. On Indian Species of Menispernum. (Vol. xiii., p. 44—68.) Read Nov. 2, 1819.

III. On Boswellia, and certain Indian Terebinthaceæ. (Vol. xv., p. 355—370.) Read April 4 and 18, 1826.

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I. On the Valley of the Setlej River in the Himalaya Mountains. (Vol. i., second series, p. 124—131.) Read Dec. 1, 1820.

II. On the Geology of the North-eastern Border of Bengal. (Vol. i., second series, p. 132—137.) Read Jan. 5, 1821.

Miscellaneous.

Journal of a Journey to Nagpoor. Asiatic Annual Register, 1806.

Introduction to the Hitopadesa, prefixed to the Serampore edition of that work.

Art. II.—*Essays on the Puránas.* I. *By Professor* Horace Hayman Wilson, *Director of the Royal Asiatic Society.*

Read 16*th of April,* 1836.

Introductory Remarks.

The earliest inquiries into the religion, chronology, and history of the Hindús, ascertained that there existed a body of writings especially devoted to those subjects, from which it was sanguinely anticipated much valuable and authentic information would be derived. These were the Puránas of Sanscrit literature, collections which, according to the definition of a Purána agreeably to Sanscrit writers, should treat of the creation and renovation of the universe, the division of time, the institutes of law and religion, the genealogies of the patriarchal families, and the dynasties of kings; and they, therefore, offered a prospect of our penetrating the obscurity in which the origin and progress of the Hindú social system had so long been enveloped. A formidable difficulty, however, presented itself in the outset, arising from the voluminous extent of this branch of the literature of the Hindús, and the absence of all facilities for acquiring a knowledge of its nature. The Puránas are eighteen in number, besides several works of a similar class, called *Upa,* or minor, *Puránas.* The former alone comprehend, it is asserted, and the assertion is not very far from the truth, four hundred thousand slokas, or sixteen hundred thousand lines, a quantity which any individual European scholar could scarcely expect to peruse with care and attention, unless his whole time were devoted exclusively for very many years, to the task. Nor was any plan, short of the perusal of the whole, likely to furnish satisfactory means of judging of their general character: few of them are furnished with anything in the shape of an index, or summary of contents, and none of them conform to any given arrangement; so that to know with accuracy what any one contains, it is necessary to read the entire work. The immensity of the labour seems to have deterred Sanscrit students from effecting even what was feasible, the publication or translation of one or two of the principal Puránas, and to the present day not one of them is accessible to the European public.

The plan adopted by Sir William Jones and other Sanscrit scholars, in order to come at the contents of the Puránas with the least possible waste of their own time and labour, was the employ-

ment of Pandits to extract such passages as, from their report, appeared most likely to illustrate Hindú mythology, chronology, and history: and they themselves then translated the extracts, or drew up a summary of the subjects to which they related. The objections to this process are sufficiently obvious. The Pandits themselves are but imperfectly acquainted with the Puránas; they rarely read more than one or two, as the Bhágavata and Vishnu, and accordingly the extracts furnished by them are limited mostly to those authorities, especially to the former. As the selection of the extracts was necessarily left to their judgment in a great measure, there was no security that they made the best choice they might have done, even from the few works they consulted. Even if the passages were well chosen they were still unsatisfactory, for it was impossible to know whether they might not be illustrated or modified by what preceded or what followed; and however judiciously and accurately furnished, therefore, they were still but meagre substitutes for the entire composition.

But a still more serious inconvenience attended this mode of procedure. It was not always easy to determine whether the extracts were authentic. Not to describe what was sought for, left the Pandit at a loss what to supply; to indicate a desire to find any particular information was to tempt him to supply it, even if he fabricated it for the purpose. Of this the well-known case of Colonel Wilford is a remarkable instance. The inquirer, under these circumstances, was placed in a very uncomfortable dilemma, as he went to work upon materials which might either say too little or too much—might leave him without the only information that was essential, or might embarrass him with an abundance by which he was afraid to benefit.

Detached portions of the Puránas were also of little or no value in another important respect. They threw little light upon the literary history of those works, upon their respective date, and consequent weight as authorities. It is true that none of the Puránas bear any dates, but most of them offer occasionally internal evidence of their relative order to one another, or to other compositions, or to circumstances and events from which some conjecture of their antiquity may be formed. Now if there be much difference in these respects amongst the Puránas, if some be much more modern than others, if some be of very recent composition, they cannot be of equal weight with regard to the subjects they describe, or with relation to the past social and religious condition of the people of India. How far, however, they are the writings of various and distant periods,—

how far they indicate this dissimilarity of date, cannot be guessed at from a few detached passages, constituting a very insignificant portion of a very small part of their number.

Unsatisfactory as to their information, questionable as to their authenticity, and undetermined as to their authority, Extracts from the Puránas are yet the only sources on which any reliance can be placed for accurate accounts of the notions of the Hindús. The statements which they contain may be of different ages, and relate to different conditions, but as far as they go they are correct pictures of the times to which they belong. Recourse to oral authority, to the conversational information of ignorant and ill-instructed individuals, which constitutes the basis of most of the descriptions of the Hindús, published in Europe, is a very unsafe guide, and has led writers of undoubted talent and learning into the most absurd mistakes and misrepresentations. From these they would be preserved by adhering to the Pauranic writers; but a full and correct view of the mythology of the Hindús, of their religion as it still exists, and of much of their real history, is only to be expected when the Purános shall have been carefully examined and compared, and their character and chronology shall have been as far as possible ascertained.

In order to effect the latter objects, as far as they might be practicable without the actual translation of the entire works, I adopted, several years ago, a plan for the particular examination of the contents of all the Puránas, which was carried into execution during the latter years of my residence in India. Engaging the services of several able Pandits, I employed them to prepare a minute index of each of the Puránas. This was not a mere catalogue of chapters, or sections, or heads of subjects, but a recapitulation of the subjects of every page and almost every stanza in each page; being, in fact, a copious abstract in the safer form of an index. It is necessary to call attention to this part of my task, the more particularly that it has been misconceived, and has been supposed to mean nothing more than such á summary as sometimes accompanies a Purána in the form of a list of the divisions of the work, and a brief notice of the topic of each. The indices prepared for me were of a very different description, as the inspection of them will at once exhibit.[1] These indices were drawn up in Sanscrit. To convert them into English I employed several native young men, educated in the

[1] Besides copies in my own possession, one set was deposited in the library of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta, and another is placed in the library of the East India Company. The index of the Mahábhárata occupies four folio volumes.

Hindú college, and well conversant with our language, and to them the Pandits explained the Summary which they had compiled. The original and translation were examined by myself, and corrected wherever necessary. When any particular article appeared to promise interest or information, I had that translated in detail, or translated it myself; in the former case, revising the translation with the original. In this manner I collected a series of indices, abstracts, and translations of all the Purânas with one or two unimportant exceptions, and of the Mahábhárata and Rámáyana, from which, if I am not much mistaken, a correct notion of the substance and character of these works may now be safely formed.

The shape in which these abstracts exist is, however, too voluminous and unsystematic to admit of their being published, or of being used with advantage, except by persons engaged in the especial study of their subjects. In order to fit them for the perusal of those who wish to learn, conveniently as well as correctly, what the Puránas have to teach, it is necessary to reduce the summaries of their contents to a connected and accessible form, and to indicate the circumstances which illustrate their purport, authenticity, and date. I have attempted to do this in a few scattered instances; and abstracts of the Vishnu, Váyu, Agni, and Bráhma Váivartta Puránas have been published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. I propose, however, now to go regularly through the whole series, in the order in which the Puránas are commonly arranged, and begin accordingly with the Bráhma Purána, which stands at the head of all the lists. In this, as in any other abstract which I may offer to the Society, I wish it to be understood that I do not trust solely to the index, or the partial translation which I have described, however satisfied I may be of their general fidelity. They are of great use as auxiliaries and guides, but the original is constantly before me, and nothing is stated except upon reference to the authority of the text. I trust, therefore, that my abstracts may lay claim to as much confidence as anything, except actual translation, can be considered to deserve.

I. BRÁHMA PURÁNA.

The Bráhma Purána, or Purána of Brahmá, is the first of the eighteen Puránas, according to all the authorities, except the Pádma Purána, which, in the Pátála Khanda or section, arrogates precedence to itself, and gives the second place to the Bráhma. This rather confirms than invalidates the usual specification, and the Bráhma Purána may be regarded as the earliest of the series, at least in the estimation of the Pauranic writers. According to Bálambhatta, in his Commentary on the Mitákshará, it is consequently known by the name of Adi, or First Purána. It is also sometimes designated as the Saura Purána, as in part it treats of the worship of Súrya, the sun. Authorities generally agree in stating the extent of the Bráhma Purána to be ten thousand stanzas. The Agni Purána makes it twenty-five thousand, but is single in the enumeration. The actual number, in two copies consulted on the present occasion, is about seven thousand five hundred. There is, indeed, a work called the Uttara Khanda, or last section of the Bráhma Purána, which contains about three thousand stanzas more, but it is commonly met with detached; and whether it be properly a part of the Purána to which it professes to belong, admits of question.

The first verses of the Bráhma Purána, forming an address to Vishnu, under the appellations of Hari and Purushottama, sufficiently declare its sectarial bias, and indicate it to be a Vaishnava work. It is not, however, included, in the classification of the Pádma Purána, amongst the Vaishnava works, but is referred to the Sákta class, in which the worship of Sakti, the personified female principle, is more particularly inculcated, and in which the Rájasa property, or property of passion, is predominant.[1]

After the invocation, it is said that the Rishis, seated at Naimisháranya, were visited by Lomaharshana the Súta, and the disciple of Vyása, to whom in particular the Puránas were imparted. The sages ask him to repeat to them an account of the origin, existence, and destination of the universe. Accordingly, he narrates to them the Bráhma Purána, as it was repeated, he says, by Brahmá, in reply to a similar request which was once made by Daksha, and other patriarchs. In this statement we have a variation, of some importance, perhaps, to the authenticity of the text, for the Mátsya Purána asserts, that the Bráhma Purána was communicated by Brahmá to Maríchi, who, although a patriarch, is a different person

[1] Asiatic Researches, vol. xvi., p. 10, *note.*

from Daksha, and if accurately designated by the Mátsya, shows, at least, a different reading in the copy consulted by the compiler of that work, and in those which are here followed.

The first chapter of the Purána describes the creation, which it attributes to Náráyana or Vishnu, as one with Brahmá or Iswara. He makes the universe from the indiscrete cause which is one with matter and spirit, and the developement of which then proceeds conformably to the Sánkhya philosophy. The first product from Pradhána, the chief principle or base of all substance, is Mahat, the great or intellectual principle, whence proceeds Ahankára, consciousness, or individuality. From this are produced the rudiments of the elements, and from them are developed the gross or perceptible elements, of which water is the menstruum of the rest, and first sensible ingredient in the formation of the world. The appearance of Brahmá on the waters, and the actual manifestation of the system of the universe, are described in the same manner as in Manu, and partly in the same words. Indeed, in this, and in all the early as well as some of the latter chapters of this Purána, the words employed seem to be common to several of the Puránas, as will be particularly pointed out when we come to the parallel passages of the Vishnu Purána; and they appear to have been taken from some older work or works, from which the present Puránas are, probably, in part at least derived.

The birth of the first Manu Swáyambhuva and his wife Satarúpá, and their descendants to the origin of Daksha, from the Práchetasas by Márishá, are next described, and are followed by a brief notice of the birth of Daksha's daughters, and the multiplication of beings by the intercourse of the sexes. The next chapter gives detailed accounts of the posterity of Daksha's daughters, especially of those wedded to Kasyapa, comprising gods, demigods, demons, men, animals, and plants; or, in a word, all creatures, real or fabulous. In the third chapter occurs the history of Prithu; and in the fourth, an account of the fourteen Manwantaras, or reigns of the Manus. We have then a particular account of the origin of Vaivaswata, the reigning Manu, and of his descendants, constituting the solar dynasty, or line of princes descended from the Sun, stopping in one copy with Vajranábha, but in the other proceeding to Vrihadbala, with whom the series usually closes. The princes of the lunar dynasty are then detailed to the period of the great war; and in the account of Krishna, the legend of his being accused of purloining a wonderful jewel is narrated at length. In all these details, which occupy fifteen chapters, the Bráhma Purána presents

the same legends as are found in other Purănas, except that they are in general more concisely told.

The same may be said of the next chapters, which contain brief descriptions of the divisions of the earth, and of the several Dwípas of which it consists, of Pátála, or the regions under the earth, and of the different hells: of the spheres above the earth, and the size and distances of the planets and constellations, and the influence of the sun and moon in producing rain and fertility. These extend to the twentieth chapter.

Part of the twentieth chapter takes up the subject of Tírthas, or places to which pilgrimage should be performed, of which a few only are particularised, and the list is interrupted by a short geographical description of Bhărata Varsha, or India Proper, its mountains, rivers, inhabitants, and merits. The portion which may be considered as characteristic of this Purăna then commences, and relates particularly to the sanctity of Utkala, or Orissa, arising, in the first instance, from the worship of the Sun, in various forms, in that country, the description of which, including legendary accounts of the origin of the twelve 'Adityas, or children of Aditi, the wife of Kasyapa, and the story of Vaivaswata's birth from the Sun by his wife Sanjná, extends to the twenty-eighth chapter.

The sanctity of Utkala continues, however, to constitute the subject of the book, forming the loosely connecting thread of a variety of legends, the scene of which is laid in the province. Thus we have a description of the forest in Utkala called Ekămra, which is considered most holy from its being the favourite haunt of Siva; and this suggests the legend of Daksha's sacrifice, the birth of Umá as the daughter of Himálaya, and her marriage with Siva, the destruction and renovation of the Deity of Love, the disrespect shown by Daksha to Siva, and the punishment inflicted by the ministers of that deity upon the patriarch and his abettors. The Ekámra wood it appears was the place to which Siva repaired after these transactions, and hence its holiness. It is so called, it is said, from a mango-tree (Amra) which flourished there in a former kalpa or great age. According to the description that follows the legends above mentioned in great detail, its circuit was filled with gardens, and tanks, and palaces, and temples, the latter dedicated to various Lingas; and it comprised many Tirthas, or holy spots, as Viraja, Kapila, and others. Connected with it also was the tract sacred to Vishnu, or Purushottama Kshetra, which is next described; and then follows an account of Indradyumna, king of Avantí, by whom

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the temple of Vishnu was first erected at this spot; and the image of Jagannátha, made for him by Viswakarman, originally set up. The proceedings of Indradyumna, on this occasion, are very fully narrated, and the account extends to the forty-sixth chapter.

The text then passes rather abruptly to a conversation between Vishnu and the sage Márkandeya, at the season of the destruction of the world, in which Vishnu tells the Muní that he is identical with all things, and that Siva is the same as himself. The especial object of the legend is, however, to account for the sanctity of a pool at Purushottama Kshetra, called the lake of Márkandeya, from its being attached to a temple with a Linga, erected by the Muní with the permission of Vishnu, bathing in which tank is a work of merit. We have then notices of other pools, and of trees and temples, with legends concerning their origin, and directions for bathing, praying and worshipping at various shrines. Copious instructions are given for the adoration of Purushottama or Jagannátha, Balaráma and Subhadrá; and a legend of the image of the former is introduced, in which it is said, that it was originally made for Indra, but carried off from his capital, Amarávatí, by Rávana; that on the conquest of Lanká by Ráma, he left it with Vibhíshana, and that it was presented by him to Samudra (Ocean), by whom it was set up on the coast of Orissa.

The advantages of living and dying at Purushottama Kshetra are then expatiated upon, and it is said that many Rishis, or sages, resided there at the recommendation of Brahmá. Amongst them was the sage named Kandu, and the mention of his name leads to a story of Pramlochá, the nymph of heaven, who was sent by Indra to interrupt Kandu's austerities, but became enamoured of him, and sojourned with him for many ages upon earth. This story was translated by the late M. Langles, and the translation forms the first article of the "Journal Asiatique" of the Asiatic Society of Paris.

The praises of Vásudeva, or Krishna, introduce an account of some of the Avatáras of Vishnu, of Brahmá's origin from him, and the production and death of the demons Madhu and Kaitabha. All this, however, is but preliminary to a narrative of the birth and actions of Krishna, including the usual legends of Balaráma, Pradyumna, and Aniruddha, and ending with the death of Krishna and the destruction of Dwáraká. These subjects extend from the sixty-fifth to the eighty-sixth chapter, and are, not only in their purport, but in their very language, the same as those which are found in the fifth book of the Vishnu Purána.

A series of chapters then ensues on Sráddhas, or obsequial sacrifices, on ceremonial and moral observances, on the duties of the several castes, and on the merit of worshipping Vishnu, especially at the Ekádasí, or eleventh day of the moon's increase, which topic is illustrated by several insipid legends. These subjects occupy sixteen chapters. We then have a particular detail of the divisions of time, and the duration and influence of the four Yugas, or ages, introductory to a description of the degeneracy of mankind in the last, or Kali age, and the periodical destruction of the world.

When speaking of destruction, Vyása, to whom the character of narrator has been transferred in the course of the work, Lomaharshana only repeating what his master had formerly said, describes absolute and final destruction, or the eternal cessation of existent things, by the exemption of an individual himself from all existence; and this leads to a question from the sages as to the nature of Yoga, or the practice of that abstraction by which final liberation is secured. In one copy of this Purána the answer is suspended by the abrupt insertion and evident interpolation of several chapters, in which an account of the solar dynasty of princes, from Vaivaswata to Râma, is repeated; and some notice is taken of the origin of Soma, or the moon. These chapters are, however, clearly out of place, and in another copy they are wanting, Vyása proceeding correctly to describe the means of obtaining emancipation. With this view he gives a sketch of the Sánkhya system of philosophy, first in his own words, and then in the words of the Muni Vasishtha, as addressed formerly to King Janaka; their conversation also contains a description of the practices of the Yogí, as suppression of breath, and particular postures, intended to withdraw his senses more completely from external objects. After describing the condition of the Sátwika, or perfect man, attained by these means, and his becoming identified with Vásudeva or Krishna, the work concludes with a panegyric upon itself, and dwells on the vast benefits derived by all classes of men from perusing it, or hearing it read.

That this summary of the Bráhma Purána faithfully represents its contents as it is ordinarily met with, may be inferred from the concurrence of the two copies consulted, one belonging to myself, and one to Mr. Colebrooke. In the Catalogue of the Sanscrit Manuscripts in the Royal Library of Paris also, No. V. of the Devanagari MSS., although erroneously denominated Ráma Sahasra Náma, "the thousand names of Ráma," an extract from the Bráhma

Purána, is a portion of that work, and comprehends the chapters which relate to the worship of the sun, and the sanctity of Purushottama Kshetra, concurring, therefore, as far as it goes, with the copies here analyzed. It is nevertheless obvious, that such a Bráhma Purána as has been here described, cannot have any pretension to be considered as an ancient work, as the earliest of the Puránas, or even as a Purána at all. The first few chapters may have belonged to a genuine and an ancient composition, and some of the later sections may be regarded as not incompatible with the character of a Purána, but the greater portion of the work belongs to the class of Máhátmyas, legendary and local descriptions of the greatness or holiness of particular temples, or individual divinities. The Bráhma Purána as we have it, is, for the most part, the Máhátmya or legend of the sanctity of Utkala or Orissa.

Although the holiness of Utkala is owing especially to its including in its limits Purushottama Kshetra, the country between the Vaitarani and Rasakoila rivers, within which, on a low range of sand-hills at Puri, stands the celebrated temple of Jagannáth; yet the Bráhma Purána also gives due honour to two other forms of Hindú superstition, to the worship of the sun, and that of Mahádéo in the same province, and this may assist us to some conjecture of the date of the work in its present form. The great seat of the worship of Siva called Ekámra Kánana in our text, is now known as Bhuvaneswara, a ruined city consisting entirely of deserted and dismantled towers and temples, sacred to the worship of Mahádeo.[1] The great temple was erected by Lalit Indra Kesari, Raja of Orissa, and was completed A. D. 657. At what period the worship declined, and the temples fell into decay, no where appears, but these events were no doubt connected with the ascendency of the adoration of Vishnu or Jagannáth, which probably began to flourish in its greatest vigour subsequently to the twelfth century.

The worship of the Sun seems to have enjoyed a more modern prosperity, for the remarkable temple at Kanárka, known to navigators as the Black Pagoda, was built by Rájá Langora Narsinh Deo, A. D. 1241. It seems to have disputed for a season preeminence with the homage paid to Jagannáth, for the temple of the latter divinity was constructed only forty-three years prior to the Black Pagoda, or in A. D. 1198. Jagannáth however triumphed over his rivals, and the shrine of the Sun, and the temples of

[1] Stirling. Account of Orissa Proper or Cuttack, Asiatic Researches, vol. xvi. The local particulars in the text are entirely derived from this admirable document.

Mahádeo, are now alike in a state of ruin : this could not have been the case when the Bráhma Purána celebrated their glories, and they would appear, at the time when the Purána was compiled, to have divided the veneration of the Hindús with their more fortunate competitor. The internal evidence which the work offers, therefore, renders it exceedingly probable, that it was composed in the course of the thirteenth or fourteenth century, or after the worship of Jagannátha predominated, but before Siva and the Sun had fallen into utter disrepute.

The work which is called the Uttara Khanda, or "Last portion" of the Bráhma Purána, is, as has been observed, always met with in a detached form, and as an independent composition. The subjects of which it treats, are also of a character wholly dissimilar from those of the Bráhma Purána, and it is very obvious that there is no connexion between the two. If there be any Púrva Khanda, or prior section of the Bráhma Purána, of which the Uttara Khanda is a continuation, it must be something very different from the work of which the preceding summary has been given.

The Uttara Khanda of the Bráhma Purána consists of thirty-seven chapters, containing about three thousand stanzas. It is repeated by Saunaka to Satáníka, as it was formerly narrated by Agastya to Supratíka, a sage. It so far merits the denomination of Bráhma Purána, that it has Brahmá for its hero : commencing with his incestuous passion for Saraswatí, and the birth of a son, Sumridíka, in consequence. Sumridíka being offended with his parent, creates, by arduous penance, the brood of Asuras or Titans, by whom the gods are defeated, and Brahmá is expelled from heaven. Brahmá, however, by propitiating Siva, is restored to his dignity and power, and employs Viswakarman, to build for him the city Drisyapura, on the banks of the Balajá river, the glory and sanctity of which stream it is the main purport of the work to panegyrize.

The Uttara Khanda of the Bráhma Purána, then, is nothing more than a Máhátmya of the Balajá river; but where the Balajá river flows, or where the city of Drisyapura is situated, are matters to be decided only by future inquiry. The work itself affords no geographical intimations, except that the scene of Brahmá's penance and sacrifice, in propitiation of Siva, and of various forms of his goddess, Deví or Umá, is laid in the north. Drisyapura means merely the "beautiful city;" and other appellations given to it, are derived from legends peculiar to this work, and afford no help in its verification. The Balajá river is called also the Bráhma hrada, "the lake of Brahmá," from his having performed penance on its borders; and

Bánanásá, "the destroyer of arrows," having cured the gods when wounded by the shafts of the demons. As personified, the stream is on one occasion identified with Nandini or Sákambharí Deví, and the latter goddess is the tutelary divinity of Sambher, and other places in Rajputána.[1] The lake of Brahmá might be thought to refer to the celebrated lake of Pushkara, where is still the only shrine known in India to be dedicated to Brahmá; but the Balajá is always described as a river, a great river, a Mahánadí, not a lake: the name means "Strength-born," the stream being produced by the power of the gods; an appellation that offers no aid in discovering its direction, and no such name occurs in the ancient or modern geography of India. In Bánanásá, however, we have in all probability the original of Banás, or Bunass, a river rising in Marwar, and flowing into the Chambal; and the Uttara Khanda of the Bráhma Purána is therefore most probably, the local legend of some temple in Central India, which is now in ruins, and the memory of which has passed away. There is nothing in the record that survives, of interest or importance, as it is made up chiefly of accounts of battles between the gods and demons, and praises of the holiness of the river, intermixed with puerile legends of local invention, and thinly interspersed with others belonging to the general body of Pauranic fiction.

The Uttara Khanda of the Bráhma Purána, is not to be confounded with the Brahmottara Khanda, a section of the Skánda Purána.

[1] Tod's Rajast'hán, vol. ii. p. 445.

Art. III.—*An Account of Gumli, or more correctly Bhumli, the ancient capital of Jetwar. By* Lieutenant G. L. Jacob. *Communicated by the Bombay Branch.*

Read 3rd of February, 1838.

In Captain M'Murdo's able report on the Peninsula of Kattywar, which was published in the first volume of the Transactions of the Bombay Literary Society, he alludes to Gumli in these brief words:—"Jaitwar, inhabited by the Jaitwa Rajpoots, comprises that part of the coast within thirty miles of Poorbundur, which is the seat of authority of the present sovereign family; they are styled Ranas, and originally dwelt at the city of Goomlee, the ruins of which, are still to be seen and admired, at the bottom and on the summit of the Burda hills." And again, "The Burda hills which have been mentioned under the head of Jaitwar, consist of a clump of mountains near Poorbundur, running from Goomlee on the north, to Kundoora on the south extreme about twenty miles; this range is not above six miles in breadth, and the southernmost end is the lowest; they are in many places covered with low wood, and possess abundance of good water on their summits; an account of the ruins of Goomlee would be a curious paper." I was prompted by these remarks to visit Gumli, and though few of its edifices are now standing, enough remains to merit description.

Gumli occupies the last valley facing the north, in the north-eastern extremity of the Barda range, up both sides of which, its walls may still be seen winding in various directions, but especially crowning the shelving land which overlooks the valley. The traditions of the country style it the ancient capital of Northern Kattywar, and this is borne out by the Chronicles of the Rana's Bards, who attribute its foundation to the three hundred and ninety-first predecessor of the present Rana; according to the same authority, the earliest seat of power was Sri Nagar, a few miles only from Púrbandar, and founded by the first prince of human, or rather, semi-human dynasty. In the next reign, Morvi supplanted it; and six generations afterwards, Bhumli, raised to a condition worthy of its fate by Rájá Sal Kumár, became, during three hundred and seventy-five successive reigns, the chief city of the Peninsula.

The flight of Rajput genealogies defies the calculations of our low-born philosophers of the West; it is well known that they trace their origin to a time beyond all human ken; aspiring even to the

heavens, they ascend by an uninterrupted succession of mortals and immortals, in which series, even the sun and moon are obscured by loftier pretensions. Whatever may be the boundary-line of truth and fable in these singular proofs of human pride and credulity, there can be no doubt of their ancestry being traced to a remote period, and this fact throws considerable interest over the ruins I am about to describe. Bhumli is the correct orthography of the place, which the lapse of time has corrupted to Ghumli or Gumli. Its history during the ages attributed to its existence, is now comprised in a mere register of the kings who reigned in it; its fall was occasioned by an invasion of a Mohammedan army from Sind, about A. D. 1313. (Samvat 1369.) The tradition of the spot in some measure corroborates this statement, through the poetical fiction of an army being brought thither by the son of Rum Sham ka Padishah, in order to secure the person, as he already had the heart, of the Rájá's daughter; the fall of the place, moreover, is attributed to this fair Rosamond's treachery.

The most recent date now legible amongst the ruins, is that of S. 1285, about A. D. 1229; there is every reason therefore to believe, that in assigning its destruction to nearly a century afterwards, the record does not antedate the period.

The ruins of Gumli may be separated into three portions. First, where the town formerly stood, and the artificial lake close by. Second, The hill-temples. Third, The citadel on the mountain-top, peering far and wide over the country.

I would recommend the traveller to encamp in the plain between the village of Mukhana and the hills, about a mile and a half from Gumli. Shady trees for his tent; if he be a lover of nature, a fine view of the hill scenery; and for the sportsman, abundance of game within a stone's throw of his tent-ropes; will enable him to pass pleasantly, even a longer sojourn, than the two or three days requisite for the ruins.

All is now jungle, where once multitudes of human beings resided; within and without the ruined ramparts so thick is it, as to make it difficult to trace them even from a height. The ground-plan of Gumli resembles a wide-spread fan, the two sides of which are formed by the gorge of the valley leading up to the peak on which the fort is built, the circular portion being represented by the ramparts; its site must have been selected before the era of gun-powder, since in front of, and nearly parallel with the walls, runs a line of low hills completely commanding the town, and permitting, so far as the defences of the place are concerned, the unmolested

advance of an enemy; this ridge bending round the town in front, with the mountain in the rear and flanks, seems to shut it up in a *cul de sac* open to the north-west; the road, however, winds round the Barda range, and debouches into the plain through the narrow valley.

The extreme breadth from the eastern to the western wall is about three quarters of a mile; its length from the north wall to the narrow of the gorge, less than half a mile; there are two flanks of about two hundred and fifty yards' length, joining the northern face to the natural flanks offered by the hills; the eastern one with its semi-arched battlements reaching half-way up the scoop of the hill, is in a tolerable state of preservation, but the remainder is in ruins, the bastions have fallen in, and are only faintly to be traced through the jungle. A ditch, of the usual Hindú dimensions, surrounds the wall; the masonry I was surprised to find for the major part of well-chiselled stone, with dove-tailed grooves for clamps; the iron or lead which may have been used for this purpose, has doubtless been long since pilfered. There were originally two gateways to the north and west: the last only is now standing, and bears the name of Rámapúl; it is narrow, but of considerable depth, containing five arches, and apparently spaces for a double portcullis; the sculpture is worthy of observation; it consists of figures in parallel compartments, elephants, lions, tigers' heads, warriors, musicians, and dancing women, well and boldly executed; a catalogue of ancient musical instruments could be compiled from these walls. Just without the gateway is the Pallia mound; I counted nearly a hundred of these testimonies to Jetwa valour; in the centre, that of some grandee is sheltered by a small mausoleum; most of these warriors, whether on horse or foot, have immense shields, and are boldly sculptured; under one bearing a striking resemblance to the Grecian satyr, I distinctly traced the date of Samvat 1118, corresponding to A. D. 1062. Time had been too busy with the other inscriptions to enable me to decipher them.

The area contained within the limits I have above described, is now tenanted only by wild beasts and other jungle inhabitants; mounds or lines of rubbish faintly portray the line of streets, though I am disposed to consider the houses were chiefly of frail materials; nothing remains as witness of its former state, save an insignificant temple near the eastern wall, two small flat-roofed ones of the earlier age of Brahmanism, a splendid well, itself worthy of description, and the ark or royal citadel, the contents of which peculiarly merit notice; wells of good masonry are sunk here and there, which the traveller should take heed not to stumble into. This ark occu-

pies the centre of the area, and contains, originally guarded by a wall all round, the palace and its adjuncts; a large bathing-reservoir, surrounded with small apartments as if for dressing-rooms to the zenana, if not the zenana itself, is separated from the palace by a court. In a temple detached from these buildings is a huge red figure of Hanumán, by the freshness of his scarlet coating attesting at once the modern as well as ancient superstition; its present scanty votaries bring their flowers and cocoa-nuts from Bhánwar, two kos off. The palace, though on a small scale, is worthy of the name, being the most beautiful specimen of Hindú architecture I have yet met with: it fronts the east, and stands on a plateau of masonry, on one side twelve, on the other twenty feet high; the nakara khana is still erect before the entrance, which leads by a flight of steps from the base of the plateau, to the ground-floor; a well-chiselled Nandi attests the worship of Mahádeo within; the shape of the edifice is cruciform, the front and wings composing the mahal, the rear a temple; about sixty pillars, twelve feet high, support the first story, and a like number of smaller ones the second; the centre of the building is circular, open to the top, and terminating in a cupola contrasting singularly, yet pleasingly, with the massive spire of the temple, and the flat roof around it. The outer pillars are only walled up sufficiently high to form seats all round, which give a lightness and elegance to the secular portion of the fabric, and afford a graceful relief to the solid architecture of the temple, which is literally incrusted with sculpture; the total height of the building may be between forty and fifty feet. It would be difficult to lay one's hand on any portion not occupied with sculpture more or less in relief; the capitals of the pillars are pentagonal, each face forming a group of small figures or a head *en grotesque.* The temple is the *chef d'œuvre;* let not the traveller be beguiled of this treat by the thick jungle which partially conceals it. After forcing my way through thorns and rubbish, the sight really surprised me; in boldness of relief, freedom of limb, chasteness of outline, and correctness of proportion and *tournure,* the sculpture betokens an age incomparably superior to the present in skill and taste. The figures are arranged in parallel compartments, each separated from the other by wreaths of heads, minute figures, &c. At the base are elephants in full relief, their trunks entwined in combat forming buttresses to the temple; and above them rise figures too numerous to detail. Gods and goddesses, men and women, elephants, lions, tigers, monkeys, musicians, dancers, and wrestlers, rise tier above tier to the summit of the temple.

I grieve to say, this superb specimen of Hindú art is fast crumbling to decay; trees and creepers, the deadly foes, though outward ornaments of ruins, have fastened their fatal grasp in various quarters.[1]

The direct pathway to the hill-fort is from Gumli, and I recommend it in preference to that passing by the hill-temples. On quitting the ruins I have just described, the road passes the Rámapúl gateway, *en route* to the artificial lake; this is formed by a huge embankment thrown across the mouth of the valley, next that of the town, and in the monsoon would offer a fine sheet of water, though when I visited it in March it had dried up; a small temple stands on the margin; the mountain-sides are here of picturesque and varied form, with bold rocks jutting out betwixt the foliage, presenting a pleasing view.

On pursuing his way across this valley, the traveller winds his way upwards to the temples, which I have designated the second division of Gumli. These, some eighteen in number, standing almost in a cluster, are rapidly falling to decay; they are four or five hundred feet above the plain, and encircled by a wall which clambers up the mountain on either side, until lost in its flank; there is nothing in the structure of the temples differing from the usual style; fragments of idols, pallias, &c., are strewed about, which would be worthy of notice by one who had not seen the more finished sculpture below. I made out the dates of S. 1258 and 1285 on two stones resembling pallias; the first is remarkable for the figure it commemorates bearing a striking likeness to that of St. George and the Dragon; the serpent is curled up under the horse's fore feet, as if about to dart itself against the hero. I have never met with pallias of this kind elsewhere. A three-headed idol brought away from one of these temples I have forwarded to the Bombay Society; whether intended to represent the Hindú Triad, or three of the four heads of Brahmá, I leave to more experienced Pantheists to determine; I write this in the jungles without means of reference. I may as well observe that in a neighbouring temple (mujaní) the four-headed god is sculptured with all his heads apparent. It is by no

[1] I observed a small tree growing out of the side of one of the stones, which from the absence of any artificial fissure, and its smoothly-wrought surface, I could only account for by supposing the seed to have been incrusted within it, on its original formation in the quarry, which the rain of so many centuries had at length succeeded in fructifying. If this surmise be correct, it affords a striking instance of the vitality of the vegetative principle. The stone was a compact conglomerate.

means so well-finished a figure as those adorning the palace-temple, but stiffness of outline is peculiar to Hindú ideas of divinity, the well-rounded *tournure* of the arm, wrist, and hand, in the fragment accompanying, will give a better, though not sufficient idea of the perfection in sculpture, at which these ancient Rajputs had arrived.

A decayed tulsi-tree in the vestibule of one of these temples, which proved, were proof wanting, that Vishnu presided there, was brought away by my Hindú followers with zealous care, for holy necklaces and reliques: the idol was better executed, and much larger than the one presented to the Society, but I preferred this, as exciting more inquiry into the superstition of the period, besides, it was broken, and could therefore be removed without offending the people, and with less difficulty.

The Bhat's story of the cause why Bhumli fell; viz., the curse pronounced by Suän Kásárin, a coppersmith's daughter, as a punishment of the Rájá for his attempts on her virtue, is founded on something less vague than the generality of such like legends; one of the temples on the hill is dedicated to her, and still bears her name. The following local tradition throws light on the manners of the times.

Son (or Suän) Kásárin, a celebrated beauty who flourished about A.D. 1113 (Samvat 1169), was demanded in marriage by a Bawattia of Babriawar, named Rakhayit, as a reward for his valour against the Rana's enemies; but on seeing her the Rana was himself captivated by her charms, and sent secret notice to the Babriawar chief, of the excellent opportunity for removing his rebellious vassal which the marriage ceremonies would present: the event happened as wished for, and the Babria hero was slain by the troops which his own chief brought thither for the purpose. Suän Kásárin was inconsolable, she refused all the solicitations of royalty, and at length fled from his violence to the shelter of a Brahman's abode; here her cause was espoused by all the brotherhood as a point of honour, and no less than one hundred and twenty-five performed *traga* on themselves, to bar the Rana from his victim: all this blood, however, did not quench the prince's ardour, the virgin bride uttered the fearful imprecation which ruined his capital, and then escaped to offer herself to the flames, a victim of tyranny, love, and superstition.

The third division of the ruins remains to be described. I have already mentioned that from Gumli the direct ascent to the hill-fort is up the valley, the gorge of which it occupies. It can also be reached from the spur on which the temples stand. I chose this as

the direct route from my tents. My guide, the Patel of the Rehani village of Mukhana, the nearest inhabited spot to Gumli, and about two miles from it, in style of character and appearance had more the semblance of a Spanish mountaineer than an Indian peasant. I was quite amused at seeing him lace on, in a sportsman-like style, a pair of leathern gaiters, to stem the brambles of the jungle with. The bambu-tree grows on these hills, and gives employment to the *Kule's* of the neighbourhood as an article of traffic. By the track of these wood-cutters we wended our way without any very great difficulty to the summit, and in exactly two hours from quitting my tent, about half a mile from the foot of the range, I was perched on the stone pillars which crown the loftiest bastion: the direct height may be something above a couple of thousand feet, but the distance is increased by the circuitous nature of the ascent, and having twice to descend for some distance to overcome the undulations of the hills. The hollows of the summit have been taken advantage of to form tanks, one outside, and two within the outworks of the place. The fortification, now a mass of ruins, is extremely irregular, but well suited to the capabilities of the ground. Whenever nature has left the peak accessible on the southern, and parts of the east and west faces, the approaches are well flanked, and defended by line within line of walls, rising to the peak. On the east, notwithstanding the slope, a strong wall runs down the mountain's edge, until it joins the southern outer barrier: the masonry was chiefly of well-chiselled stone, and no small expense must have been incurred in the work.

I am told that the earthquake of 1819, which threw down part of the Purbandar ramparts, and which did such havock in Cutch, was the destroyer also of these walls: everything denotes the existence of a fort on the peak itself, before the addition of these outworks. Besides the three tanks alluded to, two of which were dry, there is a small reservoir of water, within the upper precincts, in a natural basin of rock, which, though yellow and repulsive to the eye, was particularly agreeable to the palate: the water was several feet in depth, and I conclude merely a collection of rain-water; I could not learn this decidedly, however.

There is a good deal of small jungle on the sides of the Barda, but at top, which is partially table-land, the surface is stony and barren: the general aspect of the plain below is dreary. Purbandar, with its white-roofed houses, is visible at a distance of about twenty miles; and so, of course, is the line of sea-coast, except where a rival and neighbouring peak excludes the view. The following

bearings by a pocket-compass will give an idea of the site of this old Rajput capital. The direction of the range is here east and west, and terminates just after shutting in the town. At ten o'clock A.M., when I left the fort, the sun was by no means disagreeable. The direct descent is about the affair of an hour.

Bhanwar Town . .	N. 18 E.	Chaya Fort . . .	S. 22 W.
Gop Peak	N. 40 E.	Purbandar . . .	S. 35 W.
Júnagar Mountain	S. 64 E.	Mukhana Village	N. 24 W.
Tarsaï Village . .	S. 58 E.		

Art. IV.—*On the Three-faced Busts of Siva in the Cave-Temples of Elephanta, near Bombay; and Ellora, near Dowlatabad.* By Lieutenant-Colonel Sykes, F.R.S.

Read on the 17th June, 1837.

In the fifth number of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, p. 100, there is a translation, by Mr. Wathen, of the Bombay Civil Service, of inscriptions on copper-plates, said to have been found at Karda in Dekkan. At the bottom of the page there is a note explanatory of the phrase in the invocation, "Uncreated, Triple, Celestial Trio," in which Mr. Wathen says, "This is an invocation to the Trimúrti, or united form of Brahmá, Vishnu, and Siva, the Hindú triad: the centre figure in Elephanta."

A good deal of useless, not to say acrimonious discussion, respecting the true character of the celebrated three-faced colossal bust in the Cave-temple of Elephanta, has been carried on, not only by British Orientalists, but by those of Europe at large: the explanations offered in the first instance became only the more involved by the ignorance of the disputants in Hindú mythology, and by the desire of some to graft upon the subject, and to point out a tangible representation of the knowledge in India of a European religious dogma: and latterly, when our persevering Sanskrit scholars had made themselves acquainted with the Hindú Pantheon, they were disabled from coming to satisfactory conclusions respecting the bust at Elephanta, in consequence of the mutilations it had sustained from barbarian bigots and enthusiasts, not the less barbarian, although clothed in the garb of civilization.

Up to the year 1818, it was supposed (I believe) to be the only monument of antiquity of the kind, in the multitudinous cave-temples of India, from Ceylon to the Himalaya Mountains. In that year I paid a visit to the Caves of Ellora, and as I had gone there with the intention of giving a detailed account of these wonderful works of ancient art, and with ample leisure, I made it a point to inquire for the smallest excavations. The consequence was my being led by the attendant Brahmans to the plateau of the scarp, in which the temple called Dumar Lena, dedicated to the Linga, is excavated. In the banks of a rivulet which falls over the face of this temple, I met with numerous, small, square excavations, in each of which was a Linga standing in the centre of the floor, and to my

great surprise and gratification, on the wall fronting the entrance, I found sculptured in alto-relief a bust with three faces, similar in all their numerous details of attire and ornament, to those now remaining of the Elephanta bust; and as many of these busts were quite perfect, there was a most legitimate inference, that the defective parts of the Elephanta bust had a similar correspondence. There was no room for future doubt or hesitation whether or not the bust was that of the Triad: the bust was not the bust of Brahmá, Vishnu, and Siva, but the bust of that popular divinity Siva himself. The centre face with its youthful placid air, the third eye in the forehead, the moon tressed up in the cap on the right side, and a human skull in a similar manner on the left side, all attributes of Siva, here probably represent him as the generator. On his left is a youthful face, which cannot be mistaken, from its feminine traits, to be other than that of a female, did not the bracelets on the arms, the looking-glass in the hand, and the pencil for applying antimony to the eyelids, eyelashes, and eyebrows, place it beyond doubt. Her head-dress is made up of the coils of the terrible Nag, or Cobra da Capella (Coluber Naga), which is sacred to Siva; and the head of the reptile froms the top-knot. Here we have the Sakti, or female energy of the god Siva. In some of the busts it is doubtful whether the death's-head belongs to the head-dress of the centre figure, or to the female. In case it belongs to the female, combined with the Nag it would identify her as Durgá. The face of the figure on the right is strongly furrowed and lined with traits of violence and passion; but there is still the symbol of Siva in the Nag held up before the face, and the head-attire corresponds with that of the centre face. In one hand is held up a dish, into which the mouth appears to be blowing or breathing. If the rosary and cocoa-nut in the hands of the centre figure be indicative of preparations for sacrifice to the mystic union of the Linga and Yóni, placed on the floor before the bust, the prolific source of all nature, then it may be that this face of Siva, in his fabled character of breathing fire as the destructor, is supplying this requisite for the sacrifice. Mr. Erskine mentions that this figure has also the eye in the forehead, characteristic of Siva; but as it is not in my original drawing, I have no doubt it was an omission on my part, and I have supplied it on the drawing sent herewith. Whatever may be thought of these explanations, it is at least shown, that the bust of Elephanta and those of Ellora are not representations of the Hindú triad of gods—Brahmá, Vishnu, and Siva; nor have I ever heard of any sculptures or pictorial representations of the kind

throughout India. And it is probable my friend Major Moor, of Hindú Pantheon honours, with all his stores, may be able to bear me out in this belief. But my opinion must have small weight with Orientalists, particularly in Europe. I may be excused, therefore, fortifying it by quoting the convictions of one to whom most persons will be disposed to bow, I mean Mr. Erskine, late of Bombay, a profound Orientalist, the author of the Remains of Buddhism in India, the Life of Baber, &c. In the third volume of the Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay, p. 524, in his paper on the Remains of Buddhism in India, he says, when speaking of Ellora, "Above the Dumar Lena are the singular chapels of the Triads, so well illustrated by Captain Sykes. They PROVE BEYOND ALL MANNER OF DOUBT, that the grand three-headed figure at Elephanta DOES NOT REPRESENT the three chief gods of the Hindús, or what has been denominated the Hindú Trinity. In all these busts, two heads have the third eye, the remaining head seems to be Parvati,[1] who is sculptured in conjunction with her husband; and, in most instances, she holds up a round hand-mirror, and the antimony-needle for dressing and colouring her eyelids and eyebrows."

I come now to the object of this paper. The Royal Asiatic Society is necessarily solicitous to extend a just knowledge of Asia, and above all to clear away those mists of error, on many topics, which have obscured the horizon, in matters connected with the physics, politics, literature, and morals of that great continent. It has been most eminently successful, and in proportion to its reputation is the risk and injury to truth of its name giving a temporary colouring to error. The Society is certainly not responsible for the opinions of contributors to its Transactions and proceedings; but I believe it to be the duty of every member of the Society, where he thinks there may be a compromise of its good name by the record of an error in its publications, to come forward with his aid to ensure its correction. In the case of the quotations from Mr. Wathen, I felt it the more necessary to do so, as from the distinguished reputation of that gentleman as an Orientalist, any opinion of his is likely to have the force of a dictum; and I feel perfectly assured, that the assertion he has made is the simple result of inadvertence, for he had the means of satisfying himself of the fact by a reference on the spot to the Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay. With unalloyed feelings of respect for Mr. Wathen, therefore, and

[1] The wife, or Saktí, of Siva.

utterly free from any captious desire for emendation, I beg to offer to the Society a copy of my original drawing of the bust of Siva at Ellora; and if the Society does me the honour to give it the wide circulation of its Journal, a glance of it will do more to rectify error than a lengthened dissertation. It has already appeared in the third volume of the Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay, in my account of the Caves of Ellora; but as only two hundred and fifty copies of that volume were printed, and as the book is only to be met with in the libraries of learned institutions, the public is, in fact, cut off from a knowledge of its contents; and I do not hesitate to believe that a fresh engraving, or lithograph, will be useful, and possibly acceptable. It is right to remark that in some of the busts at Ellora the female face is to the right of the centre face, and the aged male to the left.

It may probably be desirable to say a few words on the singular fact of these busts of Siva at Ellora not having become generally known to Europeans in India during the ages that have past. This may be partly accounted for in the short stay which most visiters make, from the insecurity of the neighbourhood of Ellora, in the multiplicity of magnificent works, both Buddhist and Hindú, and the utter exhaustion resulting from one or two days' labour in rambling from cave to cave, in a powerful sun on the side of a hill, and to the final inquiry to the cicerone, "Well, have we seen all the caves?" the answer would be, "Yes, all *worth* visiting." "But are there any more?" "Oh, yes, many small ones, like closets, up the hill, but they are not worth the trouble of the walk; some have got the Linga, and some are without anything."[1] To the satiated visiter this answer would be decisive, and the examination would cease. Those visiters who made their way up the hill with their guns, in search of the hyæna, would probably look into the gloomy, indeed almost dark excavations, but missing their search would scarcely interrupt their pursuit; and in case they saw the busts, would carelessly or ignorantly associate them with what they had already seen below.

My case was different from all these. I went there, as I before said, for the express purpose of measuring, describing, and sketching the wonders of the place; I encamped at the caves for a week, protected by a guard; nevertheless, I might have missed seeing these busts, but for my disappointment in not meeting with the inscriptions in the ancient character, so common at Karlí, in Salsette,

[1] The latter probably being dormitories attached to the Buddhist caves.

at Junar, the Nana Ghát, and other places, and which I had previously looked upon as a distinctive characteristic of Buddhist monuments; for in no instance had I met with an unreadable inscription, that is to say in an unknown character, in Hindú works of art. Frustrated in my search, it was only the day but one[1] previously to my proposed departure, that, instituting a searching inquiry for further excavations, I was led to the chapels, as Mr. Erskine calls them, containing the busts;—but inscriptions I did not meet with. My friend Mr. Walter Elliot, indeed, speaks of inscriptions "cut on the pillars of temples, or on their exterior walls, as on the *sandstone* temples of Ellora." But as he calls the *trap*-rocks of Ellora sandstone, Mr. Elliot may have been equally misinformed with respect to the inscriptions. I looked for them in vain: that is to say, for inscriptions in the antique form of the letters of the Sanskrit alphabet. I had particular views in searching for these inscriptions; for having long entertained an idea that, whatever was to be *relied upon* respecting the ancient history and state of India was to be obtained from these widely-diffused inscriptions, when translated, I had been in the habit of collecting them as opportunities offered.

My previous observation of the works of ancient art of the Buddhists and Saivas, or followers of Siva,—for there is not anywhere a rock-temple excavation dedicated to Brahmá or Vishnu,—had considerably shaken my faith in the asserted superior antiquity of the Brahmanical power in India; and a deliberate comparison of the works of art at Ellora, of the Buddhists, and the followers of Siva, for he is the only Hindú god to whom honour is done at Ellora, the history of the Avatars of Brahmá and Vishnu being mere ornaments to the galleries, corridors, or walls of his temples, as pictures are to a mansion, strengthened my convictions, and I had the temerity to put on record opinions respecting the previous and universal prevalence of Buddhism, which exposed the value of my judgment to great hazard. Nevertheless, after a lapse of eighteen years, not idly spent with respect to Oriental matters, I have no wish to recede from my former opinions; and I am partly led to this by the recent successful labours of gentlemen who appear to have been pursuing the same track of inquiry that I was then following.

Subsequently to my paper on the Caves of Ellora having been sent to the Literary Society of Bombay, in turning over the volumes

[1] October 15, 1819.

of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, my eye rested upon a Sanskrit inscription of six hundred years old,[1] and I observed some of the unknown Buddhist letters in it. I then sought for others of older dates, and found an increased number of the Buddhist letters in proportion to the antiquity of their dates, until I came to the translated inscriptions from Buddha Gaya,[2] and here they obtained to a considerable extent, so that in the whole number of inscriptions I had identified forty-five Buddhist letters: the deduction was simple, that the unreadable Buddhist inscriptions were only in a more ancient form of the Sanskrit character, of which the changes could be readily traced, and it only required some stages beyond the Buddha Gaya inscriptions to lead up to the most ancient known, namely, that found in the caves of Western India and on the Lát of Delhi, and the key would be thus obtained to unlock some of the treasures of history in a language which was supposed to be exclusively Brahmanical and Hindú; but which, nevertheless, had only reference to Buddhism and Buddhists, and, as far as could be read, was utterly silent respecting the Polytheism of the Brahmans. My speculations were embodied in a paper for a literary Society, but were previously submitted to some friends, and either warmly combated or quietly put aside, and they did not in consequence get the length of the press; but the memoranda on which they were founded are preserved, and I am proud of having been treading in the same track of research with those who are doing so much for the ancient history of India. The goal of my speculation has not yet been reached; but several distinguished individuals have made rapid strides towards it; Mr. James Prinsep, the Rev. Principal Mill, Mr. Wathen, and the Rev. Mr. Stephenson. Mr. James Prinsep says, speaking of inscriptions on ancient coins, "And here the letters resemble those of the *láts,* or of the caves on the west of India, the *most ancient* written form of the Sanskrit language."[3] The Rev. Mr. Mill, speaking of the inscription at Harsha, at a temple of Siva, says, "The character, though illegible at present to the Pandits even of Northern India, presents no difficulty after deciphering the *more* ancient inscription, whose characters resemble those of the *second* on the pillar of Allahabad. This stone exhibits the Devanagari in its state of transition, from the form visible in that and other yet older monuments, to the writing which now universally bears that

[1] Asiatic Researches, vol. ix. p. 401.
[2] Ibid. vol. i. p. 284.
[3] Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. iv. p. 627.

name, and which may be traced, without sensible variation, as old as the twelfth century."[1]

And what do we deduce from the labours of these gentlemen? The moment they pass beyond the barrier of the comparatively modern form of the Sanskrit character, the light of Hindúism is dimmed, and they are surrounded with the dazzling glories of Buddhism. The Rev. Principal Mill makes the Harsha inscription a standard to judge of the age of other inscriptions in the ratio of their variations; and it may, I suppose, be almost reducible to a rule of three proposition. If it took twelve hundred years to alter the form of the letters of the Buddha Gaya inscription to that of Harsha, and six hundred years to change the form of the latter to the present Devanagari,[2] how many years must it have taken to alter the form of the Buddha Gaya inscriptions into the form of that on the Láts of Delhi, or that of the Buddhist Caves of Western India? This calculation would carry us deep into antiquity; deeper, probably, than would be advantageous to Brahmanical pretensions. There is another step in this rule of three progression, also, in Mr. Wathen's translation of inscriptions and plates from Gujarat, about fifteen hundred years old; the form of the characters *resembles* that of the inscriptions in the Buddhist caves of Western India; and Mr. Wathen says it is *evidently* derived from the more ancient one which is found in the caves of Kanari, Karlí, &c.[3]

But a new and rich field of illustration is opening by that able and most indefatigable inquirer, Mr. James Prinsep, and his friends; I mean the investigation of the ancient coins of India, which are pouring forth in astonishing quantities from the receptacles in which they have been buried for twenty hundred years, or more. Not only has he made a vast collection himself, but he has lithographed his own coins and those of his friends, with his own hands, and published them in his admirable Journal; which latter authority takes its place with the first scientific and philosophical periodicals of Europe, and has thus thrown more historic light upon Ancient India in two or three years, than the preceding century afforded to us. Here, again, we have the most ancient Indian coins associated with Buddhism and Buddhist symbols. Mr. Prinsep says, "It is an indisputable axiom, that unstamped fragments of silver and gold, of a fixed weight, must have preceded the use of regular coin, in

[1] Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. iv. p. 167.
[2] Asiatic Researches, vol. ix. p. 401.
[3] Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. iv. p. 478.

those countries where civilization and commerce had introduced the necessity of some convenient representative of value. The antiquarian, therefore, will have little hesitation in ascribing the *highest grade of antiquity* in Indian Numismatology to those small flattened bits of silver, or other metal, which are occasionally discovered all over the country, either quite smooth, or bearing only a few punch-marks on one or both sides."[1]

Apply this dictum to Mr. Prinsep's coins,[2] and it will be seen that some of the *most ancient* have the emblems called a Chaitya or Buddhist monument, and a Swastika or monograph, both of which emblems are initial in Buddhist inscriptions, in the Buddhist caves at the city of Junar in Dekkan. On others, again, are the lion and the pillar, constant associates of Buddha and his monuments. On one said to be a Hindú coin, No. 25 of the Kanouj Series, plate 39, there is a female seated on a lion or tiger, the attitudes of both lion and female being absolutely identical with those of a similar group sculptured in alto-relief of the size of life, on the terminal wall of the vestibule of the Buddhist cave at Ellora, misnamed Runchor; the opposite wall of the vestibule having a male personage sculptured, seated on a couchant elephant. This group is in my drawings of Ellora. The female in this cave is absurdly called by the Brahmans, Vágíswarí, a name of Sarasvatí, Brahmá's wife. In another cave, she is called Indraní, the wife of Indra: in one sculpture the lion is by her side; it will be no objection to coin 25, plate 39, being Buddhist, that the female is associated with a peafowl; for several of those birds are roosting on the branches of a tree over the head of my group. If these figures, which hold the most conspicuous and honourable situations immediately outside the precincts of the sanctum, represent the prince and his wife, who caused the temple to be excavated, then a knowledge of the date of the coin would probably give to us an approximation to the date of this particular excavation. I may mention, that the three circles, forming when close together, and surmounted by a crescent, the Chaitya or Buddist monument mentioned by Mr. Prinsep, are engraved on the floors of several of the Buddhist caves, although the circles are not quite contiguous. I do not know what opinion Mr. Wathen entertains regarding the respective antiquity of the Buddhists and Brahmanists in India; but he has used very strong language respecting the systematical destruction by the Brahmans, of all historical

[1] Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. iv. p. 626.

[2] Ibid. vol. iv. p. 627, plate 35.

documents relating to India, previous to the Mohammedan invasion. For which destruction, no doubt, the Brahmans had sufficient motives.

His words are: "In the course of antiquarian researches in India, we cannot but remark the very opposite course pursued by the Jainas and the Brahmans, in regard to the preservation of historical legends: the Brahmans are accused by the Jainas, of having destroyed, wherever they gained the ascendency, *all the historical books in existence,* which related facts anterior to the Musalman conquest; and we certainly do not find, at least, in the Dekkan and other countries, which have been long under their exclusive influence, anything whatever prior to that period; whereas, on the contrary, the Jainas have treasured up in their libraries every historical legend and fragment, that could be preserved by them. May it not be inferred, that the Brahmans, sensible of the *great changes introduced by themselves* to serve their own avaricious purposes, in the Hindú worship, at the era of the Musalman conquest, neglected the preservation of the historical works which then existed? for as no king of their own faith remained, and their nobles and learned men must have lost power and influence, no one was left, who took any interest in their preservation: and it appears probable, that at such period, the Purânas were altered, and the novel practices now existing introduced, to enable those wily priests still to extort from the superstition of the people, what they had formerly enjoyed by the pious munificence of their own kings."

"The Jainas indeed assert, that the Purânas are mere historical works; that Parasurâma, Râmachandra, Krishna, &c., were merely great kings, who reigned in Oude and other places, and have not the slightest pretensions to divinity."[1]

Is it that we have been hitherto mystified by the interpolated works and extravagant pretensions of the Brahmans, and that the indefatigable exertions of such inquirers as Mr. James Prinsep, Mr. Wathen, and their friends, and others following in the same track, may throw such a new and unexpected light upon the history of ancient India, as to modify or subvert our present opinions? We have never yet dared let our minds rest upon a period anterior to the Brahmanist: we may yet be enabled to do so.

But I beg pardon of the Society for a long digression. I have been insensibly drawn into it, by endeavouring to explain by what inducements I was led to the discovery of the three-faced bust

[1] Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. iv. p. 482.

of Siva, and zeal in my subject has carried me on. I hope, however, it may not be quite useless, but that it may give rise to new speculations on the age of the bust which is the primary subject of this paper.

W. H. Sykes.

Note.—I beg to correct an expression inadvertently used in my account of Ellora. I spoke of the caves being partly excavated in granite. I was wrong, the whole formation is of trap; and the rocks, various basalts and amygdaloids, as is the case at Elephanta, Karlí, Salsette, Junar, the Nana Ghát, &c.

Art. V.—*Account of some Inscriptions found on the Southern Coast of Arabia. Communicated to the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, by the Government of Bombay.*

Read 18th of February, 1837.

The accompanying Inscriptions were found in the neighbourhood of "Dees," a Bedouin town, a few hours' distant from Ras Sherma, on the southern coast of Arabia.

The natives who came off to the ship, represented it as a populous well-cultivated district, abounding in vegetables and fruit of various descriptions. Having learned from these persons, that there were many ancient buildings, and some writing in a character unknown to the Arabs, we naturally felt an inclination to make a personal inspection of them; and to effect this with security, Captain Haines sent our pilot, a native of the place, on shore, to request the ruling Shaikh to grant us his firman, and a few Bedouin attendants. In reply, a letter was sent off, making a most exorbitant demand of money, rice, copper, and sundry other very useful articles, specifying the individual quantities with much nicety and precision, as the price of his protection: this, of course, was politely declined; and from a subsequent conversation with some of the party themselves, they appeared not only to regret the exercise of their cupidity, which had deprived them of, at least, a few presents from the ship, but seemed to be sensibly ashamed of a conduct so much at variance with the hospitable treatment we had universally met with, since leaving Maculla.

We left Sherma without remarking anything further than the remains of two water-tanks, much resembling in form and structure, those we saw on the summit of Hassan Ghorab; there appeared also, to have been a fort and a small town on the point of the cape, but time had been so active in her work of destruction, that the traces merely were visible. At Gossyrh, we were more fortunate, and although the distance was greatly increased, it was deemed desirable to obtain some correct information of a part of the country, which, in all human probability, may never be visited again under such favourable circumstances, and which promised to prove so interesting in an antiquarian point of view. With the permission of Captain Haines, Mr. Smith and myself started from Gossyrh; and after a tedious journey of about fifteen miles, through a flat, barren country, we halted for the night about ten o'clock

P.M., under the ruins of a very old fort. Here we slept; and the following morning commenced our researches.

The Bedouins who attended us, unfortunately, knew nothing of either the ruins or the writing; but having recalled to our recollection the name of a Bedouin, who had been on board for medical assistance at Sherma, we inquired for his residence, which he had informed us was in the neighbourhood, and found him exceedingly civil and obliging, in showing us everything he considered might be of interest to us. Like all his Arab brethren, he knew nothing but what his own external senses had taught him; and, in common with them, he adopted the easy method of accounting for forts, tanks, inscriptions, &c., by ascribing them all to the superior genius of the Faringís, of whom they seem to have entertained a kind of superstitious dread. Of course, little else than the names of the places could be procured. The fort is called, Hassan el Meimelí, and from its size, the nature of the materials of which it is composed, and its form, appears never to have been remarkable for its strength or stability: it is now completely in ruins. After traversing some part of the neighbouring country, which is known by the name of Hammam, we at last came to Jebal Aaledma, where we were directed to look for the inscriptions. About half way up the hill, which we estimated about two hundred feet, we came to a spacious cave, on the sides of which, wherever a smooth surface presented itself, we discovered the traces of writing. Most of it was executed in a species of red paint, but in one or two parts, a black composition had been made use of. By the ravages of time, many of them were nearly obliterated; but in others, by wetting the surface, and removing the dust which had accumulated, the characters became much more legible, and in one part in particular, the colour became quite brilliant, looking as fresh as though it had been just laid on. Having discovered and copied those very perfect inscriptions on Hassan Ghorab, we were at once struck with the resemblance they bore to those now before us; and on a more minute comparison, the letters will be found generally to correspond, although there are a few here, which do not present themselves in the former. As it would appear that the style of writing is now entirely extinct, at least in this part of Arabia, it becomes a subject of speculation, by what persons they could have been executed. The characters certainly bear a stronger resemblance to the Ethiopic, than to any other known in the present day, and consulting the history of Arabia, we find, that prior to the Persian conquest of Yemen under Nushirvan, the whole of that fertile

province was under the sway of the Abyssinians, many of whom, having become enamoured of its beauties, permanently settled here. I think such are fair grounds for assuming, that these are the remains of that people, especially as we know them to have been an enterprising commercial nation, with talents and qualifications which fitted them for such a design as Hassan Ghorab, from the execution of which, the native inhabitants would have shrunk with despair. For a solution of these difficult questions, however, it will be more becoming in us to preserve silence, and leave them to the disposal of persons better qualified by their peculiar studies and more extended information on such points. I may here mention the coincidence of the names Hassan Ghorab, and Bait Ghorab the fort and family of Ghorab, which latter is one of the most populous and powerful tribes in the neighbourhood of Hammam. In questioning one of the tribes concerning the origin of his title, he told us his ancestors came from Hassan Ghorab, a place known to him by hearsay only. There are now many intermediate tribes between the two places, so that, should the information be correct, we may infer that this is merely a branch of that family drawn here by the comparatively fertile nature of the soil over that about Hassan Ghorab. With respect to the general features of the country about Hammam, it wears a most unpromising aspect, there being, to all appearance, nothing but barren hills; but on entering the valleys, the scene becomes suddenly changed, and the eye is once more gratified by the visible marks of cultivation, and the industry of man. In each corner of the valley may be seen a thriving date-grove, and sometimes pretty large portions of ground covered with taam, onions, garlic, sweet potatoes, and a variety of melons and pompions, one species of which is called the "Portugal," for what reason does not appear. The nebek and coca-nut thrive well.

After searching about for further curiosities, we left Hammam about noon, and instead of returning direct to Gossyrh, we chose a path nearer to the distant range of Assad, and after much fatigue, and some little risk, we arrived at the old fort of Maaba, about twelve o'clock at night. We were led to make this deviation in consequence of the character we received of the fort from the natives, who informed us it was composed entirely of hewn stone, and in a high state of preservation: a distant hope, too, of finding further inscriptions prompted us to visit the place. In our search for inscriptions, we were disappointed, neither could we learn from the people about, that there existed any. This, however, should

not damp a person's ardour in quest of antiquities, as many of the Arabs positively cannot recognise writing when they see it, if it differs at all from the modern Arabic. We saw an instance of this at Hammam. Having accidentally found a few characters engraved on a stone on the road-side, we immediately stopped to take a copy, while the Bedouins anxiously inquired, "Why we were writing the stone?" as they simply expressed it; and on being informed that we were copying the writing upon the stone, they seemed half incredulous about it. A short time after this, one of them took me to look at a stone, on which he said there was some writing; it proved, however, to be nothing but some natural marks on the surface of the rock; and when I told him this he laughed, and candidly told me he knew no better.

The Fort of Maaba to all appearance has been strong, and well constructed of stones and mortar, though the former are not hewn as we were informed they were. There are no embrasures for guns, but numerous loop-holes for muskets or match-locks. The plan of the building seems good for defence, and its position admirably chosen on a rising ground, in the point of convergence of three fertile valleys, well cultivated and thickly planted with date groves. It was said this was one of the castles that defended the market-road to Hadramaut, where there are many others of a similar description. The road still passes under the dilapidated walls. From hence to Gossyrh is about five or six miles.

In prosecuting the survey of the coast, we again heard of some inscriptions about forty miles to the eastward of Hammam. Lieutenant Sanders, Mr. Smith, and myself, with the concurrence of Captain Haines, started off for the purpose of copying them, after having previously examined the ruins of Hassan Misánáh, situated close to the beach on a gentle insulated eminence. The foundation-wall is now all that remains, the stones of which have evidently been hewn, and strongly cemented with mortar: everything around bears striking testimony of its antiquity. It has originally served for the protection of a village, the position of which can now be inferred only from the loose dark nature of the soil, and a few small fragments of glass and copper scattered here and there, so common a circumstance in most of the ancient towns on the Arabian coast.

A walk of about twelve miles brought us to Nakhal Mayuk, a very small date-grove, at the foot of the lofty range of mountains a little to the eastward of Wady Shakhowé. Here we began to ascend, and having attained an elevation of about fifteen hundred feet we

came to a spacious cave, in a part of which we found the adjoining characters, written exactly in the same manner, with red paint, as those at Hammam. Immediately underneath is said to have been a well, more probably a small reservoir for water, from its position and the dryness of the soil. It is now filled up with loose stones and rubbish. The surrounding country, with the exception of one or two very small date-groves peeping out from some obscure corner of a valley, is one unvaried scene of barrenness and desolation. We were told, however, that after a fall of rain, the scanty herbage which springs up was a sufficient inducement for the Bedouins to bring their flocks up to the hills, and during which time they inhabited this and any other caves which they found convenient.

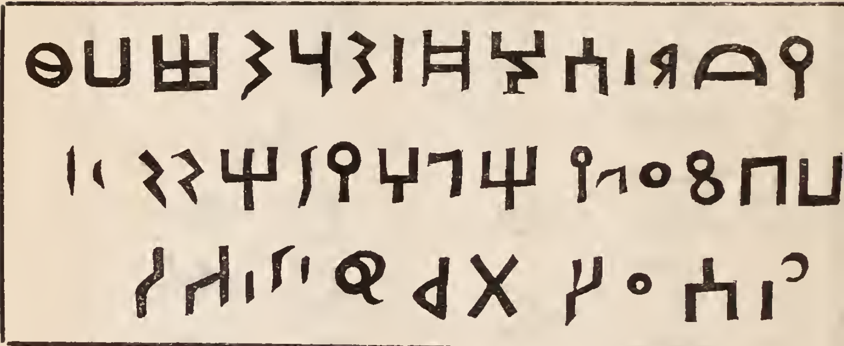
Having slept here for the night, under the protection of a few Bedouins, of the Menahil tribe, we started early the following morning to return by the same dreary path which had conducted us on our pilgrimage.

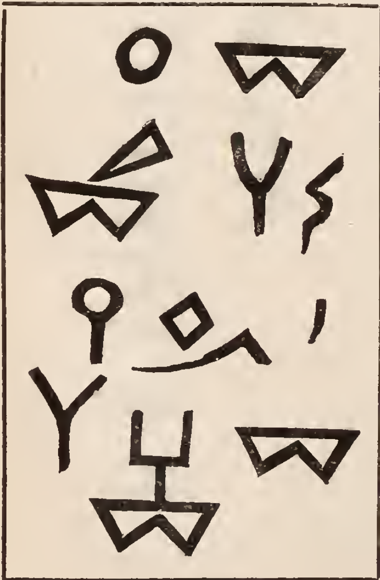
(Signed) J. G. Hulton.
J. Smith.

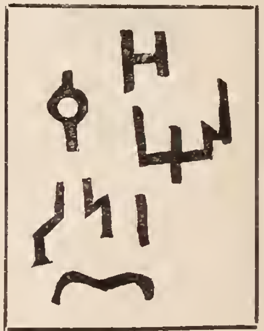
Defaced.

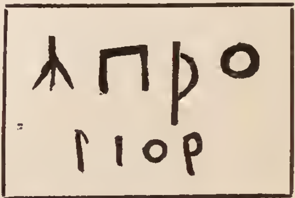
MAP
To accompany the Travels
of
FA-HIAN.
Yarkand
Tsu ho
SHEN SHEN
SHAO
CHINA
Chang-an
Tang chuo
Candahar
Lahore
HINDOOSTAN
TA-THSEN
BENGAL
AVA
BAY OF BENGAL
HAINAN
COCHIN CHINA
CHINA SEA
FORMOSA
KINGDOM OF LYONS
SINHALA
CEYLON
MALAYA
SUMATRA
BORNEO
J. Walker Lithog

Travels of FA-HIAN in INDIA.
PI-CHA
PANCHA-NADA
PANJAB
Lahore
Multan
SINDH
Bhakar
Jesalmer
Pattan
PANHARA
Mathura
Hastinapur
KIU-SA-LO
KOSALA
OUDE
Benares
MALAVA
SURASHTRA
MAHARASHTRA
RANASTAMBHA
TA-THSEN
DAKSHIN
Leh
Candahar
Damanker
Behar
Tamlook









Art. VI.—*Translation of a Proclamation by the Governor in Council of Ceylon, dated* 11*th of August,* 1686. *Communicated by* W. M. G. Colebrooke, Esq., *to the Secretary to the Royal Asiatic Society.*

Sir, 9, *Beaumont Street, Sept.* 12, 1834.

I enclose the abstract translation of a Proclamation by the Governor in Council of Ceylon, dated the 11th of August, 1686, and which furnishes a curious illustration of the principles on which the country was administered under the Dutch East India Company.

This system was progressively ameliorated under the British government, until the forced services of the native inhabitants were finally abolished by an Order of the King in Council, issued in 1830. The inhabitants of Ceylon are now secured in the possession of their lands, without reference to distinctions of caste.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

W. M. G. Colebrooke.

Proclamation.

" 11*th August,* 1686.

" *Laurens Pyl, Governor, &c., and Council of Ceylon.*

" To check abuses, disputes, and commotion, and to repress pride, prohibit the Singalese, particularly of inferior castes, to wear long hair, or hats, caps, shirts, or waistcoats, as contrary to customs, laws, and morals. In dresses, long or short, and caps, they are to conform to ancient customs, on pain of being punished with fine and chains.

" The inhabitants of the Company's territory being in the habit of abandoning their lands and plantations, and settling about the town, entering into the service of individuals, by which the Company lose their revenues and services, all inhabitants to return to their lands, to cultivate them, and perform their services. The *Chandos,* or toddy-drawers, are allowed to exercise their trade, if

their grounds and gardens are cultivated, and one male person of their caste nominated to perform service for it.

"All lands to be forfeited to the Company, if not re-occupied in three months, and the proprietors to be put to hard labour in chains. *Chandos* to give notice of their quitting their villages for private service, and where to be found, on pain of hard labour in chains for six months.

"To prevent *parveny* (hereditary) lands from being left uncultivated, all persons who cultivate them to acquire a title to such lands by three years' occupancy. All waste lands, possessed by inhabitants, to be planted within one year, on pain of confiscation.

"All sales, mortgage, and *dowry* of *parveny* property, prohibited as unlawful, the lands thus sold, &c. to be forfeited, and also the advances made for such purchase, mortgage, &c., for the benefit of church and schools; the people having alienated their lands, and withdrawn themselves from the service due to the Company.

"All usury prohibited, and the rate of interest fixed at one per *cent.* per *mensem.*

"Slaves not to be sold without deeds of transfer. No free persons to be held in *slavery*. All slaves to be registered, and not to be sold by Christians to Moors or Heathens.

"The property of deceased persons to be secured to the lawful *heirs*. To be inventoried by the clerk of the village, in presence of the *Majoraal*, and sent to the *Dessave*."

Art. VII.—*Account of the Remains of the celebrated Temple at Pattan Somnath, sacked by Mahmúd of Ghizni*, a. d. 1024. *By* Lieut. Alexander Burnes, *of the Bombay Army.*

Read 18*th of January*, 1834.

There are few facts in Eastern history better authenticated than the invasion of India by Mahmúd of Ghizni: the details of his sack of Pattan Somnath have been narrated, in some detail, even by the accurate Gibbon,[1] and a few particulars, therefore, regarding the present condition of this far-famed temple and city, collected in October, 1830, may not be unacceptable to the Society.

The town of Pattan is situated on the coast of Gujarat, in latitude 20° 54′, about forty miles higher up than the Portuguese settlement of Diu. Its antiquity is unquestioned; and the people residing in it related to me, with literal accuracy, the facts recorded of the sultan's smiting the idol: "What!" said he, when the Brahmins offered to redeem it, "do you consider me a merchant of idols?" and drawing his sword, broke it to atoms, and discovered the anxiety of the priests in the precious stones and jewels which it contained.

The traditions of the people, considering that a period of upwards of eight hundred years has elapsed, are worthy of record, however incredible some of the details may appear. They are as follows:—"The Caliph had heard with indignation that an infidel prince, ruling in Pattan, and great in his own estimation, slew a Mohammedan daily, and had the 'tíka,' or mark on his forehead, renewed day by day from the gore of a fresh sacrifice." They had it even, "that he ground the victim in an oil-mill, or pounded him in a mortar. Mangrol Isa, a man pious and devout, was despatched to remonstrate against these inhuman practices, but his advice was of no avail; and the darwesh transmitted the particulars of this unheard-of cruelty to the sultan, Mahmúd of Ghizni, who, in his zeal for the propagation of the faith, besieged Pattan with an army for twelve years, massacred or converted its inhabitants, annihilated its great temple, and put to death its prince, by name Jay-pal, since which period Pattan has continued, with one or two temporary successful usurpations, a Mohammedan settlement. The temple of Somnath was at once converted by the sultan into a mosque, its

[1] See chap. lvii.

cupolas were overtopped with minarets, which still remain, and the minor temples in the city shared a like fate."

The pious Hindú does not deny the fate which befell his god; he consoles himself with the belief that he retired into the sea on the intrusion of the unclean Mohammedan, where he has since continued. The building is no longer used as a mosque, and now neglected by both Hindú and Mohammedan, it is appropriated to the meanest of purposes. A Brahman, who pointed out to mc the curiosities of the city, compared this once far-famed edifice to the human body deprived of life. "It once," he said, "had honour, but you now behold the frame-work rotting and neglected." The description was apposite. He would have had me further believe that the building was of high antiquity, of another age than our own, and prior to the era of Krishna himself, near the scenc of whose deeds, however, Pattan is situated, since he resided at Dwáraká, which is on the same coast.

The great temple of Somnath stands on a rising ground on the north-west side of Pattan, inside the walls, and is only separated by them from the sea. It may be seen from a distance of twenty-five miles. It is a massy stone building, evidently of some antiquity. Unlike Hindú temples generally, it consists of three domes, the first of which forms the roof of thc entrance, the second is the interior of the temple, the third was the "sanctum sanctorum," wherein were deposited the riches of Hindú devotion. The two external domes are diminutive: the central one has an elevation of more than thirty feet, tapering to the summit in fourteen steps, and is about forty feet in diameter. It is perfect, but the images which have once adorned both thc interior and exterior of the building arc mutilated, and the black polished stones which formed its floor have been removed by the citizens for less pious purposes. Everything in the vicinity of Pattan corroborates its age, and confirms the relations of the people.

Two marble slabs, with sentences from the Koran, and inscriptions regarding Mangrol Isa, point out where that Mohammedan worthy rests. They are on the western side of the city, and thc place is still frequented by the devout Moslem. Near it is a cupola, supported on pillars, to mark the grave of the sultan's cash-keeper, with many others; and the whole city is encircled by the rcmains of mosques, and one vast cemetery. The field of battle, where the "infidels" were conquered, is also pointed out, and the massy walls, excavated ditch, paved streets, and squared-stone buildings of Pattan itself, proclaim its former greatness.

At present the city is a perfect ruin, its houses are nearly unoccupied, and but for a new and substantial temple, erected to house the god of Somnath by that wonderful woman, Ahalyá Bhai, the wife of Holkar, (who, by similar acts, has extended her fame from the Ganges to the Indus,) and the vicinity of a place of Hindú pilgrimage, it would soon be without a tenant, beyond the Arabs of the Júnagar chief who garrison it, and now talk in peace of the bloody victories of the sons of the prophet in this "infidel land."

In the architectural remains of antiquity in India, it will generally be observed that the pillars are low and diminutive, with extended capitals, formed by one stone jutting considerably beyond another, to receive the blocks of stone which were placed over them to form the roof. This is the case with the temples of Júnagar, in Girnar, with those at Bhadreswar in Cutch, and many other places I have seen, that are believed to be of antiquity: it is likewise to be discovered in the great temple of Somnath. It is the nearest approach to the arch at which the Hindús seem to have arrived; and in the particular instance of Somnath, it is striking to remark how aptly the Mohammedans have converted these clumsy attempts into chaster forms.

In the great temple they have inlaid an arch between every two pillars, more for ornament than strength, and I only discovered it by remembering that the arch was unknown in India before the Mohammedan conquest, and that I surely did not deceive myself in finding it in the temple of Somnath. A closer inspection soon verified the fact, and on examining the stones which composed these additions, they were found to consist of inverted Hindú images, and mutilated pieces from the exterior of the temple.

Such a fact seemed in itself to throw light on history. In the dilapidation of the temple we had proof of Mohammedan devastation; and in the arches which they had reared under the ruder plans of the Hindú, that they might the better give to it the appearance of a Mohammedan sanctuary, we had the architecture of the Eastern and Western world combined together in one edifice.

I must not omit to mention another building, worthy of notice, in the centre of the city. It is still known by the name of the "Jama Masjid," or Great Mosque, though it has also been a Hindú temple. It is in the Jain style of architecture, of an oblong square figure, with pillars on the great sides, and four domes resting on pillars at the end which faces the entrance: the shafts of all these pillars are low.

The place is now inhabited by fishermen, for neither the

" mimber" or pulpit of the Mohammedan, which has been chiselled out of its walls, nor its antiquity, have any attractions for either Mohammedan or Hindú.

There are no inscriptions to be discovered in the temple of Somnath. Colonel Tod, however, has lately given to the world the translation of a valuable inscription, still to be seen here, illustrative of an era of the kings of Nehrwala or Pattan; but even the exertions of some inquiring European, who has had the floor under the interior dome dug up, failed to throw any further light on this subject. Enough, indeed, seems to be known, for rare is it that tradition coincides so much with historical truth as in the accounts given of Pattan Somnath.

Art. VIII.—*Account of the Foe Kúe Ki, or Travels of Fa Hian in India, translated from the Chinese by M. Remusat. By* H. H. Wilson, *Director* R.A.S.

Read 9th March and 7th April, 1838.

To all those who take an interest in the early condition of India, and who are anxious to see that obscurity which hangs over the periods of its history prior to the Mohammedan invasion, dissipated, in however partial a degree, some most acceptable glimmerings of light have been presented in a recent continental publication. This work is derived from Chinese literature, and has been made accessible to European readers, by the talents and industry of some of the most eminent of those who have rendered Paris illustrious as a school for the cultivation of the language and literature of China. In the course of last year, a book, which was announced some years ago, but was suspended by the lamented death of its distinguished translator, the late M. Remusat, and again interrupted by the demise of another celebrated Orientalist, M. Klaproth, who had undertaken to continue it, was brought to a completion, and published by M. Landresse. It is entitled the "Foe Kúe Ki," or "Relation des Royaumes Buddhiques," and is an account given of his travels by Shi Fa Hian, a Buddhist priest and pilgrim, who went upon a pilgrimage to the chief seats of the Buddhist religion in India, at the close of the fourth century of our æra. Shi Fa Hian, or simply Fa Hian, a name which signifies, according to M. Remusat, "Manifestation de la Loi de Sakya," or "Manifestation de la Loi," quitted China with this purpose in the year of our Lord 399. He was six years on his route to Central India, including of course a residence, more or less protracted, at various places on the way; he spent six years in India, and was three years on his return, arriving in China a.d. 415. The accounts which he gives are such as might be expected from his religious character, and, to say the truth, are somewhat meagre, relating almost exclusively to the condition in which the religion of Buddha existed at the different places which he visited. Such as they are, however, they are exceedingly curious and instructive, even in this limited view, and exhibit a picture of the state of Buddhism in India, flourishing in some situations and declining in others, which, although we were not wholly unprepared to expect, yet we were hitherto without any accurate means of appreciating. Besides,

however, their especial subservience to an authentic history of the religion of Buddha, the travels of Fa Hian are of great value, as offering living testimony of the geographical and political divisions of India at an early date, and one at which we have no other guide on whom we can rely. I have, therefore, thought that a summary review of the principal subjects which are described in the Chinese traveller's journal might not be unacceptable to the Society.

The translation of the Foe Kúe Ki is illustrated by copious notes, by both M. Remusat and M. Klaproth. Those of the former are peculiarly valuable as explanatory of the system of Buddhist faith, and elucidations of the legends and doctrines to which Fa Hian constantly alludes. He has also explained and verified much of the geography, in which he has been followed by M. Klaproth in still greater detail. In general the verifications are satisfactory, but there are some in which it is difficult to acquiesce. It may be possible, therefore, to improve or correct the attempts which the translators have made, from sources not within their reach,—the notices to be found in Sanskrit writings, and the information furnished by the most recently published travels and researches in the provinces of India, and the countries on its northern and western confines.

Fa Hian is by no means the only Chinese traveller who visited India in the early centuries of Christianity, both before and after the period of his pilgrimage. Of one of these, Hwan Thsang, who travelled to and in India in the first half of the seventh century, M. Landresse has compiled and translated the itinerary as extracted from the Pian-i-tian, a general historical and geographical compilation, the original work of Hwan Thsang, entitled Si-iu-ki, or Description des Contrées de l'Occident, not being procurable at Paris. Some parts of this itinerary afford very useful illustrations of Fa Hian's travels, and will be occasionally referred to. It is much to be regretted that the original work is not available, for it embraces a still more extensive journey through India than the travels of Fa Hian; but in its present form it is not easy to determine how much is from the personal observations of Hwan Thsang, and how much has been collected from other sources. It would be an object worthy of this Society to procure the original from China, if possible, and contribute to its translation.

Fa Hian, with several companions, set out on his travels, from his usual place of residence, the city of Chang-an, in China, in the second year Hung-chi, a name given to the years of the reign of Yao-heng, a prince of the later Thsin dynasty, of which the second year corresponds with A.D. 399. From Chang-an, which is still a

city south of Sing-nan-fu, in the province of Shen-si, the travellers crossed the Sung mountains and proceeded to Chang-y, identified by M. Remusat with the modern Kan-chu. Thence they arrived at Thun-hwang, the modern Sha-chu, and from that city traversed in seventeen days the great desert, Sha-ho or Sha-mo, to the kingdom of Shen-shen, in the neighbourhood of Lake Lob, or Lop. This country was known, first by the name of Leu-lan, and then under the denomination given it by Fa Hian, to the Chinese, through political relations, prior to the Christian æra. At the time it was visited by the pilgrims, the people resembled the Chinese in their manners and dress, and professed the faith of Buddha. From thence to the westward the same religion prevailed amongst the inhabitants of all the different states: it is worthy of remark that Fa Hian observes of them, "although they speak different languages," which he is pleased to term barbarous, "yet the religious orders in all of them apply themselves to the study of the books and language of India." These books were probably composed in Mágadhi or Páli, a form of Sanskrit which has been apparently always adopted by the Buddhists for their practical writings, their ritual and their morality, although they seem to have retained the use of Sanskrit for their metaphysical speculations. According to Remusat, the Chinese make no distinction between the two, but confound Sanskrit and Páli, under the common appellation of Fan. In either case we have a religious literature derived from India, widely diffused through Central Asia in the first centuries of the Christian æra.

From Shen-shen, fifteen days to the north-west, Fa Hian came to the kingdom of U-i, or as the French writers preferably read it, U-hu, the barbarians of U, or the Oigurs. Thence again he journied to the south-west, and after a difficult and perilous route of thirty-five days arrived at Yu-thsan, the Chinese appellation of Kho-ten, described as a highly flourishing kingdom wholly devoted to Buddhism. Fa Hian took up his abode in a Sang-kia-len, a monastery of which the brotherhood consisted of no fewer than three thousand persons. Seng-kia-len, as M. Remusat intimates, is clearly a Sanskrit term. It is explained by Chinese writers to signify "Jardin de Plusieurs, ou de Communauté." M. Burnouf suggests that the original term may have been Sangágáram, "Maison de la Réunion, ou de Prêtres Unis." Perhaps a better etymology would be Sangálaya, or Sankhyálaya; Alaya signifying habitation or receptacle, and Sankhya, number; or Sanga, a community; or possibly it may have been Sanga-vihára, Vihára signifying a Buddhist temple, and also a pleasure-ground. It is used in either sense alone, and Remusat

mentions that Chinese dictionaries give the word also by itself, Ki-á-la. They would no doubt render the word Vi-há-ra, Vi-ha-la, as *l* is uniformly substituted for *r* in Fa Hian's orthography of Sanskrit terms. Whether the first syllable is susceptible of the requisite change I submit to more competent authority. The peculiar appellation of the establishment was Ki-u-mati, a word evidently of Sanskrit origin though of doubtful signification.

Thus far the route of the Chinese travellers may be easily followed, but we now begin to encounter difficulties. One of the party left his companions, and went on alone to Ki-pin, or Co-phene, the country, according to the annotators, in which Ghizni and Candahar are situated. Fa Hian proceeded to Tsu-ho, twenty-five days' journey from Kho-tan, but in what direction is not specified. It appears, however, from Chinese geographers, quoted by M. Remusat, that Tsu-ho was considered sometimes as the same with Chu-kiu-pho, the modern Yarkand; and although this is questioned by others, yet it is placed by them in the same neighbourhood. According to a work quoted by Klaproth, it is the actual canton of Ku-ke-yar, some distance south-west from Yarkand on the Kara-su, one of the feeders of the Yarkand river. It is clear by what follows that it is close to the mountains, and therefore it is necessarily more to the south than Yarkand.

Four days' journey south from Tsu-ho brought the travellers to the Tsung-ling mountains, the Onion mountains of the Chinese, forming the western portion of the great Kuen-lun chain and blending with the Bolor range which unites the two systems of the Thian-chan and Kuen-lun, comprising the Karakoram and Pamer ridges, which separate Little Tibet and the country of the Dardus from Badakshan. At this distance Fa Hian found the kingdom of Yu-ho-ei, from whence he resumed his journey, and in twenty-five days arrived in the kingdom of Kie-sha.

M. Remusat informs us that Chinese geography affords no means of verifying these places, and leaves them himself undetermined. M. Klaproth has no better authority, but he endeavours, it may be suspected not quite successfully, to supply the deficiency: observing, what is no doubt, generally speaking, true, that in the high mountains of Central Asia the roads which cross the glaciers, or which turn them, continue to be the same for long periods of time, he takes it for granted that the Tsung-ling could be crossed from Ku-ke-yar, only by the route followed by Mir Izzet Ullah, in his journey from Leh to Yarkand, which passed through Ku-ke-yar, or by Ka-ka-lun. He, therefore, identifies Yu-ho-ei with Ladakh, and, taking the

Chinese traveller on a retrograde course to the south-east, supposes that he thence proceeded westward to Balti. To this there are objections which appear not easily set aside. Four days would not have brought the travellers into Ladakh, and going thence to Balti they would have had to follow for a considerable portion of their journey the large northern arm of the Indus, the Shayuk, which they would scarcely have omitted to mention. Neither is it necessary to send them so much out of their way, for there are several routes along the mountains to the west; and Izzet Ullah reports, that from this very vicinity, or Kakalun, there had been a road to Balti, by which in former times the Kalmuks and Kirghizes penetrated into the country. The passage had been closed, artificially, according to his story; but no doubt by some natural impediment, if it really was no longer practicable. We must, therefore, question the identity of Yu-ho-ei and Ladakh.

Where then was Kie-sha? Its bearing from Yu-ho-ei is not stated, but it must have been towards the west, whether due west or deviating to south or north is doubtful. M. Remusat, we learn from Klaproth, was inclined to suppose it to be Kashmir, but the latter takes what appear to be reasonable exceptions to this conjecture. Fa Hian, for instance, says the only grain that ripens in the country is wheat: the principal harvest of Kashmir is of rice. The country, he says, is mountainous and cold, and much snow falls in it: this is only partially true of Kashmir, particularly in the last respect, as little snow falls there. To get to Kashmir, also, the travellers must have crossed the Shayuk, as Klaproth observes, a circumstance to which they would possibly have adverted. It seems more likely, therefore, that we must look to the west, and Balti, as suggested by Klaproth, is not improbably the direction, somewhere, perhaps, in the vicinity of Skardu or Hounz. The objections to it arise from the specified distances to Kie-sha, and from it to India: the first is twenty-five days' journey, the latter thirty days to the west, then fifteen more to the south-west, when the Indus is crossed. During the whole of this time the travellers are engaged in a very rugged country, and have to make their way over precipitous passes and by tortuous defiles. Supposing them, therefore, to have walked from fifteen to twenty miles per day, the direct average distance would probably not have exceeded four or five. Still, at the lowest computation, they could not have gone much less than three hundred miles, and this interval should have carried them far beyond the parallel of the Indus, where it makes its way through the Indian Caucasus. The French annotators, indeed, conduct Fa Hian to the

Kama instead of the Indus Proper, and this gains something in the westing, but not sufficient to accord with the specified distance, although more perhaps than is compatible with the position of countries subsequently described. It is impossible, therefore, not to suspect something wrong in the distances or the bearing, perhaps in both. The whole journey lay amongst the Tsung-ling mountains, and Kie-sha is said to be in the midst of them. This and the distance would agree best with Badakhshan. But then it would be necessary to take Fa Hian from thence rather to the south-east than to the west, or by Chitral along the northern edge of the Caucasus towards the Indus. Upon the whole, therefore, it seems most probable that we must look for Kie-sha in one of the divisions of Little Tibet, towards Skardu.

Wherever Kie-sha was situated, it was an eminently Buddhist country. The king celebrates the Pan-che-yue-sse, which is explained to signify the great quinquennial assembly. Klaproth proposes as its Sanskrit original, for it is clearly Sanskrit, Pancha, five, and Yukti, union; but yukti is never used to denote an assembly or meeting of men: the expression was more probably Pancha-varshí, from Pancha, five, and Varsha, a year. Besides this the kingdom was sanctified by the possession of a stone vase, which served Foe or Sákya as a pík dání, or spitting-pot. It was also happy in preserving one of his teeth, over which the people of the country had erected a tower, a Sthupa or Tope.

The whole of the journey from Kie-sha lay amongst mountains covered with snow, summer and winter, a description sufficiently applicable to the lofty peaks of this part of the Indian Caucasus. On crossing the range, or rather the northern branch of it, occurred the little kingdom of Tho-lí, one of the provinces of the India of the North,—a division of India which, according to Chinese geographers, was situated to the north-east of the Indus, south of the Hindú Kosh, forming the eastern portion of Afghanistan. If M. Remusat has thus accurately represented the position laid down by Chinese geographers, we have evident proof of erroneous bearings at least, for no part of Afghanistan, nor of India of the North, if comprehended within its limits, can be said to be north-east of the Indus; it is either north or north-west. The proper position, however, of India of the North may be conjectured to have been along the upper part of the course of the Indus, on either side of the mountains and either bank of the river, extending westwards to the Kohistan of Kabul and eastwards to Kashmir or Ladakh, a position confirmed by Hwan Thsang, who places the boundary of the north

of India six hundred li, or about two hundred miles, east from Kabul. Tho-lí is conjecturally identified by Remusat with Darda, and the conjecture is better founded than, perhaps, he was aware, for Chilas, or Dardu, the capital of the Dard country, is situated amongst the mountains where the Indus enters the main range. It lies on the southern or eastern bank.

At Tho-lí, it is related that a colossal statue of Mi-le-Phu-sa, the future Buddha Maitreya, was to be seen, copied after the original by an Arhat, or saint, who was allowed to visit the heaven in which Maitreya dwells until the time of his advent on earth, in order to take his likeness. The image was of wood; or from its size, eight toises, or about eighty feet, high, we might have thought the famous figures at Bamian were intended; not that it is necessary to go so far to the west to find similar monuments of Buddhism, for amongst the information gathered by Mr. Trebeck respecting the countries on the north of the Indian Caucasus, he was informed that near the capital of Upper Chitral, was a gigantic figure of a man, cut out of the rock, in all probability the representation of a Buddha, past or to come.

Following the direction of south-west, along mountains whose sides rose perpendicularly to the height of eight hundred feet, and at whose base flowed the Sin-theu, the Sindhu of the Hindús, the Indus of our maps, Fa Hian came, at the end of fifteen days' march, to the place where it was crossed by a bridge of ropes, the jhula, or swinging bridge, still so frequent in the mountains: the descent to the river was by seven hundred steps cut in the mountain; the breadth of the river was eighty paces. No European has yet had an opportunity of knowing as much of the upper course of the Indus as the Chinese did fifteen hundred years ago.

When the river is passed the traveller is in the kingdom of U-chang. This country forms the northern part of India, and the people, in language and manners, are the same as those of Central India. According to M. Remusat, the term U-chang, which is also read U-cha and U-chang-na, signifies garden, and is therefore the Sanskrit word *Udyána*. Agreeably to his notion of Fa Hian's crossing the Kama, not the Sindh, U-chang must lie to the west of the Indus, to the north of Kabul. If, however, the Indus was the river crossed, it lies towards Kashmir, or in the Bamba and Khatak country; and this is the position in which it might be expected, according to Sanskrit authorities. M. Remusat observes that no such appellation is found amongst the modern names of places in this part of India, nor in the lists extracted by Wilford and

Ward from the Puránas. The remark, he adds, may be considered of general application, and is true of the greater part of the rest of the itinerary. He seems to doubt if Hindú geography would furnish much illustration of these travels, but recommends the perusal of some of the standard compositions of the Hindús, such as the Mahábhárata and Rámáyana, "pour en dépouiller toute la partie géographique," a task, as he observes, too dry, arduous, and often ungrateful to have many attractions for European scholars, but one that would be of inestimable service to learned investigation. The task is well worthy of being undertaken, and would prove, I apprehend, less ungrateful than M. Remusat imagined, the notices of places in the works referred to, and in others of a similar class, being very numerous, and their general position being frequently verifiable. It is, I understand, in a fair way of being accomplished, although the credit of it will not be reaped by the Sanskrit scholars of our country; and Professor Lassen of Bonn will have the merit of supplying that deficiency which M. Remusat bewailed.

To return, however, to U-chang: it is not correct to say that its name is not traceable in Sanskrit authorities; and it is rather remarkable that we find the name in what may be considered rather its vernacular than its classical form. We have not Udyána, but Ujjána, the U-chang-na of the later Chinese traveller. Ujjána is named in the Mahábhárata in the Vana Parva,[1] as one of the Tirthas, or holy places, of the north, and its mention follows close upon that of Kashmir, from which, therefore, its contiguity may be inferred. We have, therefore, the Sanskrit verification of its name and site, and this confirms its position on the upper part of the Indus, possibly on either bank, extending westward towards Kabul and eastward to Kashmir. Chinese authority, also, is not wanting for such a position, for Ma-twan-lin, as quoted by Remusat, states that it lies east of Kian-to-lo, and in the itinerary of Hwan Thsang, Kian-to-lo is bounded on the east by the Indus. He places U-chang six hundred li to the north of Kian-to-lo. In accounts extracted by M. Remusat from Chinese geographical compilations, U-chang is evidently confounded with Kashmir: the description of its mountains, its valleys, its forests, its fertility, its irrigation, its rice, its lakes tenanted by dragons, the Nagas of the Raja Tarangini or Kashmirian chronicles, and the character given of its people as ingenious and gentle, but cowardly and crafty, are still perfectly applicable to Kashmir. At a later period, however, the Chinese knew Kashmir by its own name; Kia-she-mi-lo is its appellation in the itinerary of

[1] Vol. i. p. 585.

Hwan Thsang. It is easy to understand, however, this seeming confusion. Kashmir had at various times a political boundary, considerably exceeding its natural limits. At different periods, therefore, different districts, such as Ujjána, were or were not considered to be portions of Kashmir.

From Ujjána, Fa Hian proceeded to the south to the kingdom of Su-ho-to: the distance is not particularised, but from what follows it does not seem to have been considerable. M. Remusat, considering Fa Hian to be on the west of the Indus, would look for this place towards Persia, but this seems unnecessarily remote. No Indian appellation is proposed for Su-ho-to, but we might suspect its offering some analogy to Suvata, the probable original of Swát, or Sewát. That district, it is true, is to the west of the upper part of the Indus, and we have no intimation that the Indus had been again crossed; it is clear, however, from the description of the ensuing portions of the route, that Fa Hian must have passed to the west of it at some time or other, and it is possible that it was at this period that he recrossed the river. His omitting to mention the circumstance is of no great importance, as similar omissions frequently recur in the course of the journey. It need not, however, have been necessary to have crossed the river so soon, for the kingdom of Swát, or Suvát, as late as the time of Baber, extended on both sides of the Indus.[1] Whatever may have been its exact situation, there is no doubt of its being properly included within the limits of India, as it is the scene of a legend, which may be traced to a Hindú origin. It is said that Shy, the celestial emperor, tried the benevolence of Fo, or Sákya, in this country; he changed himself into a hawk and a dove, and gave chase to one of his transformations in the disguise of the other. Fo, to redeem the dove, offered the supposed hawk his own flesh. This story is told in the Vana Parva of the Mahábhárata, at some length, of King Usínara. His charity was similarly tested by Indra, the Shy of the Buddhists; but instead of the double transformation of the same divinity, which Remusat himself thinks requires some apology, Agni, the god of fire, in the Hindú legend personates the pigeon. The scene of the story, as told in the Mahábhárata, is left undefined; but it is either near the Vitasta, the J,helum, or the Yamuná. In other places, the story is told of Sivi, the son of Usínara, after whom the Saivas, or Siviras, or Sauviras, a northern tribe, situated near the Indus, was named. Usínara is also a descendant of Anu, the son of Yayáti, emperor of all India, and to him the north of

[1] Elphinstone's Caubul, p. 331.

India was assigned as his portion. It seems most likely, therefore, that we need scarcely cross the Indus for Su-ho-to, or if we do, that we have not far to go for it.

Descending to the east, at five days' distance, Fa Hian comes to Kian-tho-wei. This M. Remusat proposes to correct to Kian-tho-lo, upon the authority of Hwan Thsang; and the Kian-tho-lo of the Chinese is the country of the Gandaridæ of classical writers, the Gandhára of the Hindús, and Candahar of the Persians. The latter, however, may no doubt be regarded as an instance of the migration of a name, for the modern city is more to the west than was probably the most westernmost boundary of the ancient principality. As mentioned above, Hwan-Thsang makes the Indus the western boundary of Kian-tho-lo; and, as I have explained at some length in another place, in the Appendix to the Essay on the History of Kashmir,[1] the Gandhára of the Hindús, or at least one division of it, was situated on that river, and thence was distinguished in Sanskrit writings as Sindhu Gandhára. The province extended, indeed, at some periods, across a considerable portion of the Panjab, for Strabo has a Gandaris between the Hydraotis and the Hydaspes; and in the Mahábhárata, the Gandháras are first met with upon crossing the Setlej, and approaching the Airávatí, the Hydraotis, or Ravi. We have, therefore, no objection to M. Remusat's correction or verification, although we have to his supposition that the route of Fa Hian lay so far west as the modern city of Kandahar. Kian-tho-wei is said to be the kingdom of Fa-i, or Dharma-varddhana, son of A-yu, or Asoka; the first words meaning, in both Chinese and Sanskrit, increase of the law,—the second, exemption from sorrow. We have no such prince as Dharma-varddhana in any of the Indian dynasties, but Asoka, either as a king of Kashmir, or of Magadha, is a person of great celebrity. I shall have occasion, I hope, before long, to introduce him more particularly to the notice of the Society.

Seven days east of Kian-tho-wei is the kingdom of Chu-cha-chilo, explained to signify decapitated,—and leading us, therefore, to its Sanskrit etymology, Chyuta-sira, fallen head, Foe having here made an alms-giving of his head: more to the east is a place where he gave his body to a hungry tiger. In both places lofty towers, or topes, were erected to commemorate these instances of self-abandonment. They were not visited by Fa Hian, and they cannot be readily verified; but many topes have been discovered in this part of the Panjab, and especially between the Indus and the

[1] Asiatic Researches, vol. xv.

J,helum, which may mark the situation of the spot. There may, indeed, be some reference to the name which it has been agreed to assign to Manikyála, and Chu-cha-chilo may be a Buddhist corruption and alteration of Taksha-sila.

Four days' journey south from Kian-tho-wei, the road comes to the kingdom of Foe-leü-sha. M. Remusat observes, we can scarcely doubt that we have here the earliest mention of the name of the Beluches, borrowed apparently from Sanskrit; for this supposition, however, he has no warrant except a similarity of sound, and his notion of the western route of Fa Hian. His conjecture, however, is acquiesced in by Klaproth and Landresse. The situation of the Baluch tribe is, however, evidently quite beyond the possible route of Fa Hian in this part of his travels. Hwan Thsang has a city in the south-east of Gandhára, east of the Indus, called Pa-lou-sha, whilst he terms the capital, west of the river, Pu-lu-sha-pu-lo; no doubt intended for Purusha-pur, and possibly the origin of the modern Peshawar. One of these is possibly the Foe-leü-sha of Fa Hian, and, as situated west of the Indus, it must be the latter. The most magnificent monument in all India, a Sthupa, stood at this place; erected, it was said, by King Ki-ni-kia, or Kanishka, known as a Scythian sovereign of Kashmir. It was forty toises high, equal to one hundred and twenty-two metres, or above four hundred feet. This elevation much exceeds that of any building yet met with, and is no doubt much exaggerated, but it probably included a spire or steeple which the Sthupas or Topes seem to have borne, but which has in every instance fallen down; at any rate there is no doubt that some of the most stately edifices of the class of Sthupas and Topes were erected in the neighbourhood of Peshawar, or between it and Jelalabad. The country, indeed, possessed the most valuable relique of Buddhism, the Kamandalu, or water-pot of Foë, to possess himself of which, according to Fa Hian, the king of the Yue-chi, who was a zealous worshipper of Buddha, invaded the country: the pot, however, was not inclined to travel, and although it was placed upon a stout carriage, drawn by eight strong elephants, not an inch would it stir. The king was therefore obliged to leave it in its place, building there a tower or tope, endowing a monastery and establishing a garrison. The pot was there when Fa Hian arrived, and was the object of daily adoration. This notice of the invasion of the Panjab by the Yue-chi, the Getæ or Scythians, at a period which a Chinese traveller in the fourth century calls ancient, and the mention of their attachment to Buddhism, afford us historical facts which confirm in a very interesting and authentic

manner the information gleaned from other sources regarding the political condition of this part of India, shortly before and after the æra of Christianity.

Sixteen yojans to the west, we come to the position of the kingdom of Na-ki-e and the city of Hi-lo; and adopting the smallest as the most probable valuation of the yojan at four miles, we are thus carried sixty-four miles. Hwan Thsang calls it Na-ko-lo-ho, and describes the route thither from Kia-pi-she, or Kabul, as going first to the east six hundred li to Lan-pha, and then one hundred li across mountains and the great river, (the Indus, or one of its feeders,) south-east; bearings and distances that are quite irreconcileable with those of Fa Hian, as well as incompatible with the notions of Remusat, that we should look for these places about Kandahar. They, however, may be taken, with much reservation, as establishing the position of these places east of Kabul. For Na-ki-e, a probable Sanskrit origin can scarcely be suggested; but in Na-ko-lo-ho we have evidently an attempt to represent Nagara, a city; often used also as a proper name. It is probably to be looked for about Jelalabad, which is between fifty and sixty miles west of Peshawar, and in the neighbourhood of which very many Topes have been found. Fa Hian states that many towers and temples are described as being situated in the country of Na-ki-e.

Proceeding from thence, Fa Hian crossed the Lesser Snowy Mountains: he describes the cold as so intense that it endangered the lives of the party, and one of them actually perished: the snow is said to rest upon the range in summer as well as winter. According to M. Remusat's view of the western journey of the pilgrims, these mountains are supposed to be part of the Soliman range, running parallel with and west of the Indus; and the description leaves no doubt that it must have been some part of this range which they traversed,—consequently proving their having passed to the west of the Indus. At the same time if the range was crossed as far to the south as would be necessary on coming straight from Kandahar, it is very unlikely that such intense cold would have been experienced, as the Solimani mountains decrease rapidly in elevation, and the temperature proportionably augments as they extend to the south. The coldest part of the range is from the Safed-koh to Ghizni, and the latter is therefore the limit of the migrations of the Chinese pilgrims to the west and south. It does not seem necessary, however, to take them so far, as supposing Na-ko-lo to have been on the site of Jelalabad, the southern road to India would conduct them across the highest part of the Khyber range in the immediate vicinity of the Safed-koh, a part

of the range on which, as Mr. Elphinstone mentions, the snow lies till the spring is far advanced. Fa Hian and his companions chose a rather unfavourable season for travelling, proceeding in the second moon of winter; some time in December M. Remusat infers from the computation of the Chinese calendar, but very possibly later,—and it is not wonderful therefore that they met with severe weather.

After crossing the chain the travellers came to the kingdom of Lo-i. M. Remusat observes that this is a name elsewhere totally unknown, but it is not improbably intended for Lohita, a name found in the Mahábhárat as that of a country, as is also Lo-ha, the appellation of a people, in the north of India; associated with the Kambojas, and others in the same locality, subdued by Arjuna. The principal tribes of the Afghans, between the Solimani hills and the Indus, are known collectively by the term of Lohanis; and in them we may perhaps have the Lohas of the Hindú geographers, and the Lo-i of the Chinese. It will be necessary however, consistently with what follows, to place them more to the north than the position they now occupy, or in the present seats of the Khyberis, or Vaziris.

At the distance of ten days south occurs the kingdom of Po-na, a name for which I cannot offer any equivalent, nor has M. Remusat attempted any. To the east of it, at three days' journey, the Sin-theu is again passed; and here we are all somewhat perplexed. Consistently with the western course of Fa Hian's journey, he must, it is true, cross the Indus a second time; and according to the view taken of his route by his translators, he does [illegible] at a point below the junction of the rivers of the Panjab with the main stream, and either at Mitan or Bhakar. To this there are various objections which seem to be insuperable. In the first place, it depends upon Fa Hian's journey to Kandahar, a circumstance in itself exceedingly improbable. In the next place, had he proceeded in this direction to Mathura on the Jumna, the place where he next arrives, he would have had an extensive tract of inhospitable desert to cross, in which the travellers must have suffered severely from fatigue and privation, of which he makes no mention. On the contrary, he observes, as soon as the Sin-theu is passed, the country towards the south presents nothing but plains without mountains or great rivers, but abounding in small streams and water-courses, a description far from applicable to the sandy tracts of Jysalmer and Bhikaner. Finally, he says, on crossing the Sin-theu he comes into the kingdom of Pi-cha, or Pi-thsa, a word probably, as Remusat supposes, intended to represent Pan-cha-nada, or Panjab; but if the Indus was crossed as low down as Mitan, it was the desert, not the Panjab,

into which the travellers must have come. It seems, therefore, most likely that we are to look for Po-na somewhere about Tak, the chief town of the Doulat Khel tribe, situated about one hundred miles south from the Khyber mountains, and through which passes the great road to Kabul. It is also about thirty miles west of the Indus. Crossing the river at this distance something to the south-east of Tak, the traveller would soon have been upon what has been, in all ages, the high road to India by way of Lahore, and would have prosecuted his journey through such a tract as he describes Pi-cha to have been.

The next stage was a long one, but it brings us on sure ground. At a distance of eighty yojans to the south-east is the kingdom of Mo-thu-lo, a kingdom which, from its name and position relatively to places subsequently noticed, can be no other than Mathura. Fa Hian says he followed the river Pou-na, meaning probably the Yamuna; another proof, by the way, that he came from the north-west rather than the west. Throughout the whole of this route all the princes, according to our traveller, were firmly attached to the faith of Buddha, and treated his priests with profound respect. They offer food to them with their own hands, and spread a carpet before them, and then sit down in front upon a seat. In the presence of holy men they dare not sit down upon a bed: "En presence des religieux ils n'oseraient s'asseoir sur un lit." Several Buddhist towers are described as existing in Mathura and its vicinity; but we have also men[illegible] Brahmans, and it would appear as if on the journey no Buddhist monasteries or monuments of any importance had occurred,—none are described.

Eighteen yojans, about seventy miles, to the south-east is the kingdom of Sang-kia-shi, a name found in Pali lists of countries as Sam-kassam. It occurs also in Sanskrit; and Kusadhwaja, the brother of Janaka, is called in the Rámáyana king of Sankásya: this is changed in some authorities to Kásí, but no doubt erroneously. In the time of Hwan Thsang this name had become obsolete, and he terms the place Ki-ei-pi-tha. A large Sthupa was in its vicinity; its site may be regarded as somewhere about Mainpuri, or Farrakhabad, in the Do-ab. From thence Fa Hian goes seven yojans south-east to Ki-jao-i, on the river Heng, or to Kanoj on the Ganges: the former is called Ku-jo-kie-che in the itinerary of Hwan Thsang, for the Sanskrit Kanya-kubja. It is also termed, or rather translated, in Chinese Buddhist works, Khiu-niu-ching, the City of Hump-backed Damsels, the literal meaning of the Sanskrit word, in reference to the legend of Váyu's cursing the hundred

daughters of King Kusanábha to become crooked as a punishment for their scornfully rejecting his suit, and refusing him as a bridegroom: the story is told in the Rámáyana. The Buddhists have adopted the legend, converting the God of Wind into the Hermit of the Great Tree, and making the number of offending damsels ninety and nine. Heng and Heng-kia are the common denominations of the Gang, or Ganga. West of the city Fa Hian finds a tower erected to commemorate Foe's having preached there. There are plenty of remains and ruins about Kanoj, but we have had no notice yet of anything like a Tope. Three yojans across the river is the forest of Ho-li.

Ten yojans to the south-west is the great kingdom of Sha-chi. Klaproth places this in the Oude country on the Gumti, but neither the distance nor the direction would bring us to that river: they would agree better with the position of Cawnpore, but that the district is on the north bank of the Ganges, probably on the river opposite. No Indian original is proposed for the name. It might be supposed to represent Srávastí, a city celebrated in both Buddhist and Brahmanical writings; and it probably does so with this modification, that it was a more modern and more Brahmanical city than the ancient Srávastí, known at the time of Fa Hian's journey by a different appellation, She-wei, a city at which Fa Hian next arrives, at the distance of only eight yojans south from Sha-chi.

She-wei is situated in Kiu-sa-lo, a province in which we readily recognise Kosala, the Sanskrit name of an extensive kingdom which, although varying in its limits at various periods, originally and for the most part comprehended the modern Oude. That She-wei was the same as Srávastí, a city which, according to the Vishnu Purana, was founded by Sravasta, the ninth prince of the dynasty of Ikshwáku, we have various intimations. In the itinerary of Hwan Thsang it is called also She-lo-va-si-ti; and he mentions that it was the capital of King Po-lo-sí-na-chi-to,—in Sanskrit, Prasena-jit, who is said, in Buddhist works, to have been king of Srávastí at the time of Sákya's appearance. Fa Hian calls the king Pho-sse-ho, an abbreviation quite admissible, as the name occurs in Sanskrit Prasena, as well as Prasena-jit. It is clear, therefore, that the Chinese travellers looked upon She-wei as Srávastí. At the time, however, that the first of them visited it, it must have undergone a great alteration from the flourishing state in which it is described at the period of Sákya's teaching. Fa Hian observes, the population was trifling, and the town contained not more than two hundred houses. It seems likely, therefore, that the prosperity and name had been

transferred to the neighbouring city of Sha-chi, where the Brahmans seemed to predominate; as they had repeatedly endeavoured, it is said, to eradicate a shrub planted by Buddha himself, although it continued to grow in spite of them. In the neighbourhood of Shewei were very many Buddhist temples and towers of great sanctity, some vestiges of which might possibly even yet be discovered in the neighbourhood of Fyzababad, or Oude. Its distance and bearing from Sha-chi seems to be not accurately stated, as from what follows it must lie rather east than south.

At twelve yojans to the south-east occurs the city Na-pi-kia. We have no Sanskrit name for it. It is said to be the birth-place of the Buddha Krakuchhanda, the name given to which in Sanskrit is Kshema-vati: the situation of the place, with reference to the succeeding as well as preceding route, should be to the north of Gorakhpur. East from this one yojan is Kia-wei-lo-wei, a place of all the most eminent in Buddhist topography as the native city of Sákya himself: this circumstance, as well as the similarity of the name, leaves no doubt that Kapila, or Kapila-vastu, is intended.

Kapila-vastu is, under different modifications, the appellation by which the birth-place of Sákya is designated by all the Buddhist nations. The Burmese call it Kapila-vot; the Siamese, Kabila-pat; the Cingalese, Kimbul-vat; the Mongols, Kabilit; the Chinese, more commonly Kia-pi-lo, or Kia-pi-li: Hwan Thsang writes it Kie-pi-lo-fa-su-tu. The Mongols and Tibetans also use other words which are translations of the Sanskrit, Kapila, tawny, and Vastu, site; Sar-skyas-g-ji, and Ser-skyas-ghrong, "Sol ou ville de jaune foncé." Kapila-vastu also means the cell or abode of Kapila, a celebrated sage, by whom, according to the Buddhist legend, this place was assigned to the emigrant tribe of the Sákas, of which Sákya Sinha Gautama, or Fo, was a member; and hence his appellation.

Although, however agreed as to the name, the authorities of the different countries were but ill informed as to the exact site of Kapila, as I have had former occasion to notice in some remarks added to an abstract of Mr. Csoma's "Analysis of the Dul-va, or first portion of the Kah-gyur," published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, January, 1832. It was most commonly said to be in Magadha, or Bahar; but it appeared from Tibetan writers, that although this might be politically, it was not topographically correct, and that Kapila-vastu must have been situated to the eastward, somewhere near the hills separating Nepal from Gorakhpur, it being described as situated on the Rohini, a mountain-stream which is one of the feeders of the Rapti. The itineraries

of both Fa Hian and Hwan Thsang show that the position was accurately described, and that Kapila, or Kapila-vastu, the birthplace of Sákya, was situated north of Gorakhpur, near where the branches of the Rapti issue from the hills.

No less valuable service is rendered to history than to topography by this part of Fa Hian's journey, for whilst it shows that the accounts of cities and their princes, given by Buddhist writers, were the same in his day as in the present, it proves also that even in his time the religion of Buddha had suffered in the eastern districts of Hindústan a serious and irreparable decline. From the period when he arrives at Mathura and proceeds towards the east, however numerous may be the temples and towers, the work of past ages, the Seng-kia-las, the convents of Buddhist mendicants, are rare and thinly inhabited; instances of persevering, if not of triumphant malignity, on the part of the Brahmans become frequent. Srávastí, at least the Srávastí of the Buddhists, has shrunk to a village; and now, when we come to the native city of the Buddha Sákya Sinha himself, where his ancestors had been princes, and where we might naturally expect to find a numerous population, enriched by the liberal endowments of the pious, and the expenditure of innumerable pilgrims, we meet, according to an eye-witness, one too who is evidently not disposed to undervalue proofs of the prosperity of his faith, we meet with neither prince nor people, with none but a few religious ascetics, and a dozen or two of huts occupied by their votaries, insufficient to redeem the scene from being, "as it were, one vast solitude." Every spot in the neighbourhood was sanctified as the scene of some recorded incident in the early life of Fo, and on every such spot a tower had been erected. These towers still were to be seen, but the principality was what it is at present, a wilderness untenanted by man, the haunt of wild animals, who made travelling through it dangerous. "Sur les routes on a à redouter les éléphants blancs, et les lions, de sorte qu'on n'y peut voyager sans précaution." Now these circumstances place us in the Terai, a tract which in our day is not only characterised by solitude and beasts of prey, but for a considerable portion of the year by its deadly hostility to human life. Yet at the birth of Sákya, and for some ages afterwards, it was the habitation of mankind, and the field which religious piety loved to decorate with structures intended to testify its own fervour, and stimulate the faith of posterity. By the fourth century of the Christian æra, the wilderness had usurped the place of the cultivated plain, the hum of men had yielded to the silence of the forest, but we have yet no intimation

of the unhealthiness of the district, and the only danger apprehended by travellers was from elephants and lions. The monuments were still erect, and some few of the human race still lingered amongst their shadows. The work of desolation, however, remained unarrested, and even those few, and the still more durable existences of brick and stone were finally swept away. Such is the history of the past: from that of the future a more cheering prospect is to be expected; and deadly as may be the vapours which the deep shades of the Terai engender, the time may yet come when they shall be scattered before the advance of culture and civilisation, and a more permanently prosperous city, and other and holier and more lasting shrines shall rise on the site of the birth-place of Fo.

Having left the place of the nativity of Sákya Sinha, Kapila, or Kapila-vastu, Fa Hian travelled five yojans to the east to the kingdom of Lan-mo, where stood a tower erected over a portion of the body of the saint. This part of India was in ancient times included in the kingdom of Mithila, the king of which was Janaka, the father-in-law of Ráma, and many vestiges of those two princes are still found in the names and traditions of different places in the district. Lan-mo, as Klaproth conjectures, is probably intended for Ráma; and we have in the present day more than one Ráma-pur in that part of the country where we might look for Lan-mo. Lan-mo, however, must have been within the limits of the Terai at the time when it was visited by Fa Hian, as it was entirely deserted, and the only habitation there was a monastery, recently founded, it is said, by the king of the country at the instigation of certain Tao-sse, intending, according to the French writers, a particular Chinese sect, but possibly here designed for the Tapaswis, Hindú religious ascetics, who had become Sha-mi, Samanæans, or Sramanas, ascetic followers of Buddha, and had established a religious society in the forest.

Proceeding still towards the east, two other towers were passed, at the distance of three and of four yojans respectively, and from the last, twelve yojans, was the city of Kiu-i-na-kie, near the bank of the Hi-li-an river. This river, as appears from what follows, is no doubt the Gandak, but the distance is in that case much exaggerated. The direction, however, is south-east rather than east, and as the pilgrims must have approached the foot of the mountains in their visits to Kapila and Lan-mo, the distance may in part be thus accounted for.

Kiu-i-na-kie is called by Hwan Thsang Kiu-shi-na-kie-lo, in which we have the Sanskrit Kusa-nagara and Pali Kusi-ná-rá, the name of the city near which, according to Buddhist works, Sákya

terminated his career. The identity of the term is confirmed by the Tibetan appellation, Tsa-chog-grong, which means the city of the excellent grass, and Kusa-nagara is the City of Kusa grass, "Poa cynosuroides," which is held sacred, and is much used in the rites of the Brahmans. The word, in various modifications, was familiar to Sanskrit accounts of the country somewhat to the east of this, the residence of one branch of the descendants of Kusa, of whom the sage Viswámitra was a distinguished individual. His sister, after her death, gave her name to the Kausiki river, the modern Kosi. According to Tibetan authors, Kusa-nagara was in Kamrup, which is the most western portion of Asam, or the northern portion of Rangpur. This position, an improbable one enough, was perhaps the consequence of confounding Kusa-nagara with the Kausiki river, and carrying events which occurred on the east of the former to the east of the latter, thus coming near to the frontiers of Kamrup. We need not, however, go so far to the east as even the Kosi river for proofs of Fa Hian's accuracy, both as to site and name, and the identification is remarkable and interesting. In the number of the Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for June, 1837, is a notice of a colossal alto-relievo, found by Mr. Liston, of which a sketch was sent by him to the Editor. It proved to be an image of Buddha, surrounded by compartments in which various actions of his life were represented, surmounted by figures of celestial spirits, and supported by the elephant and lion. This was found in Pergunna Sidowa, in the eastern division of Gorakhpur, at a place called Kusia, no doubt the Kiu-i of Fa Hian; for not only do the name and site, and the presence of this image of Buddha confirm the identity, but Mr. Liston mentions also several pyramidal mounds and heaps of rubbish in the same neighbourhood, the remains of a Buddhist city of some extent. This, it is said by the people of the country, was the residence of Mata-kuanr, or mrita-kumára, that is, of the dead prince. The country people have a legend of their own to account for the appellation, but they look upon the dead prince as a powerful divinity; and the genuine owner of the appellation is no doubt the prince and prophet Sákya Sinha, who, according to the records of all his followers, expired in this vicinity.

Hi-li-an is conjectured to be intended for Hiranya, gold. The same river is also called by the Chinese Shi-lai-na-fati, and they translate it "having gold," the sense of the Sanskrit, Suvarnavatí, which is therefore no doubt the original. Hwan Thsang calls it A-shi-to-fa-ti, which he explains "unparalleled." It is no doubt a Sanskrit synonyme, Ajitavati, unsurpassed. These are all names

applicable to rivers, though I do not find any Hindú authority for applying them particularly to the Gandak.

On the bank of the river, Sákya, or Fo, obtained Pan-ni-huan, the Sanskrit Parinirvána, liberation from existence. Fa Hian merely adds with respect to the locality, that the scene of this event was north of the city. Hwan Thsang says, that at three or four li north-west from the town, the river is crossed to a forest on its west bank, in which the Nirván of Fo was obtained, but it must be rather the east or north bank. A tower was built on the spot by King Asoka to commemorate the occurrence, and a column of stone was erected in front of the tower, on which was inscribed "Buddha, aged eighty years, entered into Nirván at midnight, the fifteenth lunation of Vaisakh." Now here, again, we have in the mention of this tower and column particulars of great interest, for in all probability the very column seen by Fa Hian is still standing. It is thus described by Mr. Hodgson: "I found it in the Tarai of Zillah Saran, half-way between the town of Bettiah and the river Gandak, west and a very little north of Bettiah, and very near to the Nepal frontier." The column, or lát, of which a drawing is given in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, for October, 1834, stands close to a village called Matiya, in which name we have again an allusion to the Mata, or Mrita, the deceased, Sákya. The column bears an inscription, but a much longer one than that which Fa Hian has translated. It is in the same characters as the inscriptions on the Lát of Firoz Shah at Delhi, and the Pillar in the Fort of Allahabad, and is, in fact, the very same inscription on all three. The character has been deciphered by the extraordinary ingenuity and persevering diligence of Mr. Prinsep, and presents an edict enjoining the observance of Buddhism, by a prince yet untraced in the dynasties of India, Deva-priya, or Priyadarsí: the latter was at first supposed to identify him with Deveni Peatissa, king of Ceylon, B.C. 307, by whom Buddhism was introduced into that island; but the latest notice we have from India mentions that Mr. Turnour has discovered that Piya-dasi is an epithet applied to Asoka, the grandson of Chandragupta and king of Magadhá, about 280 B.C., the great patron of Buddhism. The inscription is in Mágadhi, or Pali, and is no doubt the work of a Buddhist prince or princes. That the particular inscription on the Matiya lát bore the record of Sákya's nirván, may have been a piece of misinformation given to Fa Hian by persons unable to read it, or it may perhaps be yet made out. When its purport and locality are considered, we can scarcely doubt that it is the monument which Fa Hian beheld.

Twenty yojans to the south we come to the scene of many of Sákya's adventures, and one in which many monuments of his actions occurred. Amongst them we have another stone pillar with an inscription; the purport of this is not named, but it is said to have been erected by the family of Sákya at his injunction. Here again we have an interesting verification, for proceeding along the Gandak to the distance of about seventy miles we come to Bakra, where stands another Buddhist column. It is of stone, but no inscription has yet been found: at the same time it is considered by Mr. Stephenson, by whom it is described in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, March, 1835, that half its height is buried in the ground, and there may be an inscription on the lower part. Of its character there is no doubt, for at a short distance to the north was a considerable mound of solid brick-work, a tower, or tope; and in the vicinity was found a mutilated image of Buddha, with an inscription in an ancient form of Nagari, which, thanks chiefly to Mr. Prinsep, has also been made legible. The inscription, which has been found since in many other places, is a moral stanza, importing that Buddha has enjoined the motives of actions which are the sources of virtue, and prohibited those which are its impediments:

Ye dharma hetu prabhavá
Hetúnstesham Tathagato
Hyavadach cha yannirodham
Tesham cha mahásramana:

being a memorial-verse, found, with unimportant variations of the reading, in various Buddhist books in different languages.

Again we can tread in the footsteps of Fa Hian. At five yojans to the east or south-east, he comes to the celebrated city of Phi-she-li, a city easily recognised in the Vesáli of the Buddhist, and Vaisálí of Sanskrit writers. We have very early authority for its name and site. In the Rámáyana, Ráma, and Lakshmana, after crossing first the Sona river, and then the Ganges, come, after some short distance, to the pleasant city of Visálá, or Vaisálí, founded by Visala, the virtuous son of Ikshwaku and Alambushá. In the days of Sákya, Vaisálí was the seat of a republic: the population, termed Li-chchi-vis, had no king, but governed themselves, and were very opulent and powerful. Fa Hian calls Vaisálí a kingdom, but he makes no mention of its condition beyond specifying various Buddhist towers or topes. In Hwan Thsang's time it was entirely in ruins, and it was probably in progress of decay in that of his predecessor. One tower is ascribed to a holy woman, named An-pho-lo,

in whom we have probably the Ahalyá of the Hindús, the wife of Gautama, who resided here at the time of Ráma's visit to Vaisáli. We need not be at a loss for the remains of Vaisáli, as at such a distance from the Bakra Lát as we might expect, Mr. Stephenson met with the remains of a large mound and an extensive fort, which he considered to be of considerable antiquity; heaps of brick rubbish were also found in the neighbourhood of the column. The city of Vaisáli no doubt occupied part of the tract between Bakra and Sinhiya.

From Phi-she-li, at the distance of four yojans, about the actual distance from Sinhiya, Fa Hian came to the confluence of the five rivers. Three are easily identified, the Gandak, the Ganges, and the Sone; the two others may have been formed by the branches of the Ganges, opposite to Danapur, which in Major Rennell's map were separated by an island of some extent. The mouth of the Deva, also, is not very remote. Having crossed the river, and gone one yojan to the south, the travellers entered the kingdom of Mo-kie-thi, the Sanskrit Magadha, and the city Pa-li-an-fu. The latter is called by Klaproth the ancient Chinese mode of writing Patali-putra, which in the itinerary of Hwan Thsang appears as Pho-ta-li-tsu-ching, the Ching, or City, of the Son of the tree Pho-to-li, the literal meaning of the Sanskrit Patali-putra. It was also known to the Chinese by another of its Sanskrit names, Kusuma-pura, the City of Flowers, converted into Kiu-su-mo-phu-lo. Both names occur in a legend explaining their origin, extracted by Klaproth from a Chinese work, which he terms "Mémoires sur les Pays Occidentaux sous les Thang," written A. D. 640. The legend is not the same as that given in the Vrihat-kathá, which I translated and published in the Calcutta Quarterly Magazine, for March, 1824; but we need not advert to it except for one curious statement, that at this time, or early in the seventh century, the ancient city was in ruins and overrun with jungle. "Au sud du fleuve Khing-kia, est l'ancienne ville: son emplacement est vide et couvert d'herbes; on n'y voit que des fondations et des ruines." If this was the case so long ago, we need not be surprised that we cannot now discover vestiges of Palibothra in the vicinity of the Ganges, the Erranoboas (or Gandak), and the Sone.

At the time of Fa Hian's visit, the palace of A-yu, or Asoka, was entire, and presented specimens of sculpture so superior to the efforts of actual art, that they were ascribed to superhuman architects. Genii laboured for the patron of Fo.

Three li south from the capital was the city Ni-li, built by A-yu,

embellished by a handsome column surmounted by a lion. The columns of Matiah and Bakra, both have lions for their capitals. The pillar at Ni-li is said to have borne an inscription, and another pillar with an inscription, recording the liberality of King A-yu, or Asoka, was close to the town. At the same place stood a great tower, and a temple with a stone bearing impressions of the feet of Fo. The columns and stone were also seen by Hwan Thsang, who reports, however, that not long before his arrival the king of Magadha, She-shang-kia, who persecuted the Buddhists, had had it thrown into the river. It returned, however, to its old berth. The inscription on the column bore, he says, "The king without sorrow, firm in his faith, has thrice made a gift of Jambudwipa (India) to the priests of the law of Buddha, and has as often redeemed it from them with all his pearls and all his treasure." It may be worth while to look about in Bahar for traces of such reliques; an inscription of King Asoka, particularly if it had a date, would be an inestimable prize. We do not find a name amongst the later Andhra kings of Magadha, as specified in the Puránas, that can be supposed to be the original of She-shang-kia. Ni-li is evidently Sanskrit, though there is no such name at present in the vicinity of Patna.

Having now entered upon the field of Sákya's first career as a religious teacher, places of note in Buddhist hagiography occur in rapid succession. Nine yojans to the south-east is a mountain where Sákya was entertained with a concert by the Gandharbas. Thence one yojan was the hamlet of Na-lo, the birth-place of Sariputra, one of Sákya's first disciples; thence one yojan to the west was the new city of the royal residence, new Lo-yue-khi, or Rájagriha, built by A-che-shi, the Ajáta-satru of the Hindús. Thence to the south was the old capital of Magadha, the ancient Rájagriha, the residence of Ping-sha; also called by the Chinese Pin-po-so-lo, in whom we have therefore the Bimbasara, or Vimbasára, of the Puránas, the father of Ajáta-satru, by whom the site of the capital was removed. The ancient city was the abode of Jarasandha, the first of the Magadha kings, who was slain by the sons of Pandu, Arjuna, and Balaráma. Rájagriha is described as situated amongst five mountains, which formed, as it were, its walls. It was deserted at the time of Fa Hian's visit, and we need not be surprised, therefore, if fifteen centuries should have effaced all traces of a city which was one of the most ancient and celebrated in the India of the Hindús. We might suppose this to be the case, from the total silence of European travellers and residents, in respect to Rájgriha, but it is not so; and although little known, vestiges of the old capital

of Magadha do exist. The best account of them is to be found in two Calcutta publications, the Calcutta Annual Register for 1822, and the Oriental Magazine for 1823. It is part of the journal of a native traveller, of a route from Calcutta to Patna by Gaya and Behar in 1820. The traveller was, in fact, a Jain in the service of Colonel Mackenzie, and the journal is the report which he furnished of his proceedings, translated by other natives in Colonel Mackenzie's employ, and revised for publication by myself. Sri-nivasia, as he was named, saw many things which Europeans would have had few opportunities of seeing, or would probably have overlooked if they had. Amongst these he saw the remains of Rájagriha. "Travelling amongst the Rájgiri hills," he observes, "I came to an open place strewed with the ruins of a city, for about four miles from south to north, and two miles from east to west. On the four cardinal points of this ruined city are four hills. It was amidst these four hills that Srenika Mahá Rája founded his capital, giving it the name of Rájagriha, or Giripur, subsequently modified as Rájgiri." On the hills, also, he describes the remains of temples which he claims, as he is bound to do, for Jain, but which were probably Buddhist; and he notices a mound of singular appearance, the reliques of a lofty tower, erected, as he relates after the vulgar tradition, for the residence of Sálabhadra, who was a spirit of heaven in the form of the son of the minister of Srenika. His father reared a lofty edifice, in the upper chamber of which the son was nearer to his proper sphere. The tower was possibly one of those here seen by Fa Hian. In a work now in course of publication, the first volume being printed, the Reports of Dr. Buchanan, on different Provinces of Gangetic Hindústan, edited by Mr. Martin, there is also in the description of the Bahar province an account of Rájagriha. Dr. Buchanan describes the remains of the fort noticed by Sri-nivasia, also the mound, which he says is of a circular form. He also particularises the remains of an extensive bund, answering at once the purpose of a road across the low country in the vicinity, and a bank to confine the water of the rains between it and the foot of the hills. It was about twelve feet high, or perhaps more, and one hundred and fifty feet broad, running about four miles to the east, and must have been a work of great cost and labour.

Fifteen li to the south-east, Fa Hian came to the mountain Khi-she. In this were several excavations, in one of which, Ananda, a disciple of Fo, had been detained by the demon Phi-si-un, in the form of a vulture. Phi-si-un is the Sanskrit Pi-su-na, any malignant being. Ananda was extricated by his master. The

mountain derives its name from the legend, being called in Sanskrit Buddhist works, Gridhra-kúta, Vulture-peak, expressed in Hwan Thsang's itinerary by Ki-li-tho-lo-Kiu-to. The more classical name is Giri-vraja, the Mountain Tract, by which it is mentioned in the Mahábhárata. Klaproth conceives it to be the same with Ghidore, a place on the borders of Bahar; but although the name may be derived from the old designation, the situation of Ghidore shows that it could not have been Khi-she. We need not be at any loss however, and the identification is of peculiar interest, as it proves that, in some instances at least, Fa Hian's bearings and distances are worthy of confidence. In Buchanan's description of Bahar we find a mountain termed Giri-yak, which the people of the country identify with Giri-vraja, and it is precisely in the spot where the Chinese traveller places Khi-she, or between seven and eight miles (or fifteen li) south-east from Rájagriha. The name and position are not the only points in which the places agree; Fa Hian particularises one cavern, and mentions that there are several hundreds. He notices also a stone grotto, a throne of the four Buddhas, a stone block once hurled at Fo, and the ruins of the hall in which Fo had preached. Buchanan describes the remains of a paved road to the summit of the mountain, a platform, and the remains of a temple, which had probably been solid, like those, as he particularly mentions, of the Buddhists. A column of brick sixty-eight feet in circumference rises here, from a pedestal twenty-five feet square. This pillar is called in the neighbourhood the seat of Jarasandha, and Buchanan is at a loss to conjecture its purport; but it is no doubt a monument of the same class as the pillars or láts already described, and is a Buddhist monument. It is rather singular that Buchanan does not describe any excavations. There are numerous caverns in the Bahar hills, west of the Phalgu, the Barábar-pahár; but Rájagriha and Giri-yak are in the range running east of the Phalgu, extending to Ramgur. The former range has been visited by different Europeans, and many caves and inscriptions have been discovered; the latter has been visited by none but Buchanan, and it is possible that the excavations concealed by thicket, and situated in places of difficult access, may have escaped his observation. There are, nevertheless, sufficient proofs of the identity of Khi-she and Giriyak.

Fa Hian then returns to the new capital, that is, to the more modern Rájgriha, which must have been somewhere about the city of Bahar,—a place where numerous vestiges of Buddhism are still to be traced. He then proceeds four yojans towards the west, to

the town of Kia-ye, manifestly Gaya; and it is curious to find it stated, that even at this early date it was entirely deserted. Of course the Gaya of Fa Hian was the Buddha Gaya of the present day, a mass of ruins of an eminently Buddhist character. Fa Hian takes no notice whatever of the Hindú Gaya, in which he probably sacrifices topographical correctness to sectarial resentment, at its having eclipsed the sacred city of his religion. He passes on to the south some eight or ten miles to the mountain Kukutapáda, and on the route notices many places sanctified by incidents in the life of Sákya. In the mountain was a habitation of Arhats, meaning excavations, and near it the sepulture of Kasyapa, the Buddha preceding Sákya. At Fa Hian's visit the mountain was overrun with thick and tangled forest, abounding with wild beasts, as is still the case on the confines of Bahar and Ramgur. Hwan Thsang places this mountain east of the river Mon-ho, the Mohani branch of the Phalgu, which rises in Ramgur, about twenty miles south-east from Gaya.

Fa Hian, although he seems to have avoided the Gaya of the Hindús, considered Benares to be worthy of a visit: he, therefore, returned to Pa-lian-foe, or Patalipur, and proceeded along the Ganges westwards, to Pho-lo-na-i in the kingdom of Kia-shi, or to Varanásí in the province of Kasi. Ten lis north-east was a celebrated temple, erected in memory of a pious Phy-chi-foe, a Bhikshuka, or mendicant, who obtained Nirvána here; the origin, perhaps, of that erected in the twelfth century by Buddhist princes at Sárnath. Many establishments of Buddhist ascetics, and towers, or topes, were found by Fa Hian in this locality.

Whilst engaged in this visit, Fa Hian notices the situation of a kingdom two hundred yojans distant to the south, which he calls Ta-thsen, intending probably, as Mr. Klaproth supposes, Da-khin, or Dach-chin. The circumstance, however, which attaches particular interest to this notice is an account which he gives of a cavern-temple, called, he says, the temple of Pho-ho-yue, which is the Indian for pigeon. The word is not easily recognised, as it is rather unlike the Sanskrit Parávata, which is the synonyme of pigeon, that most resembles it. This, however, is of less importance than the description of a temple in five stories, each story containing numerous chambers or cells, all cut out of the solid rock, and tenanted by Arhats; establishing, consequently, the existence of a Buddhist cavern-temple at the end of the fourth century. The hill is said to be uninhabited and remote from any village, and the people of the country are a perverse generation who do not know the law. The

description is too fanciful and vague to allow us to propose its identifieation, but Ellora, Keneri, or Ajanta, furnish us with the originals of the picture. The existence of eavern-temples in the Dekhin, prior to the fourth century of our æra, is thus established.

From Pho-lo-na-i the Chinese traveller returned to Magadha, where he sat himself down in a monastery for three years, to study the saered language and eopy the books. In the north of India he eomplains, the heads of the different establishments preserved the precepts of the law by tradition only, eommunieating them orally to their diseiples, being, therefore, even less eonversant with their literature than the Buddhists amongst whom he had sojourned beyond the Himalaya. In Central India he obtained several Buddhist works, whieh it would be interesting to identify with some of those still eurrent in Tibet, Nepal, Ava, and Ceylon. Those whieh Fa Hian aetually proeured were a colleetion of the precepts of the Moho-seng-tchi, or Mahá Sankhya, whieh, he says, had been followed ever sinee the days of Fo; and a colleetion of the united preeepts of the Sa-pho-to, whieh, aeeording to Klaproth, is the Sanskrit name of one of five elasses of precepts attributed to Sákya, and means "La Somme," the sum and substance of the law,—intending, perhaps, Sarva, or Samánya-dharmma. It eontained about seven thousand ki-e; that is, gathas, or verses. He had several extraets from the A-pi-tan, Abhidharmma, in six thousand stanzas; a eopy of the Sútras, fundamental rules, two thousand five hundred verses; a volume of Sútras, on the means of obtaining final liberation, of about five thousand verses; and the Apitan, or Abhidharmma, of the Mahá-seng-ehi. He speaks also of the greater and lesser Kueï, two of the three works whieh, according to Chinese authorities, form the three preeious treasures, teaehing relianee on Buddha, on the law, and on the chureh,—the remarkable triad of the Buddhist faith; and he alludes to eighteen eollections of precepts, the authorities of different masters, still recognised, as M. Landresse shows, by the Buddhists. At this early period, therefore, the great body of Buddhist literature, either in Sanskrit or Pali, was in existenee.

Having acquired these valuable means of giving a fresh impulse to Buddhism in his native land, Fa Hian quitted the neighbourhood of Patna, and proeeeded down the Ganges, eighteen yojans to the great kingdom of Chan-pho, on its southern bank. This is Champa near Bhagalpur, the eapital of Anga at the time of the great war, and a place of eonsideration from a very ancient date to at least the eighth and ninth eenturies. Fifty yojans more to the east, at the confluenee of the river with the sea, was the kingdom of

To-mo-li-ti. The religion of Buddha was in a flourishing state in this principality, and Fa Hian abode there two years, transcribing manuscripts and copying images.

To-mo-li-ti, or as Hwan Thsang writes it, Tan-mo-li-ti, is the undoubted representative of a town or province named Támralipta in the Mahábhárata, and Tamaliptí, or Tamalipta in the Váyu and Márkandeya Puránas, and in many other Sanskrit works. In the Dasa Kumára and Vrihat Katha, collections of tales written in the ninth and twelfth centuries, it is always mentioned as the great port of Bengal, and the seat of an active and flourishing commerce with the countries and islands of the Bay of Bengal, and the Indian Ocean. Going upwards, then, to the fourth century, we find it possessed of the same character. At the end of his residence, the merchants, says Fa Hian, were embarking in large ships to sail to the south-west, and in one of them he took a passage. It was the beginning of winter, and the wind being favourable, the north-west monsoon having, in fact, set in, the vessel arrived at the Kingdom of the Lions, Sinhálaya, Sinhalá, or Ceylon, in fourteen days; a passage which at such a season was very practicable. Támralipta being on the sea at the mouth of the Ganges, and corresponding with it in appellation, is always considered to be connected with the modern Tamlook. No inquiries, as far as I am aware, have ever been instituted in this neighbourhood for antiquarian remains, and possibly they would not be very successful if they were, as although such monuments might have resisted the ravages of time, they would in all likelihood have been swept away by the encroachments of the sea. Molunghis now labour where Phy-chi-foës formerly practised self-denial, and the Seng-kia-lan, where Fa Hian studied the Fan language, is now converted into the Cutchery of the salt-agent of the English Government of Bengal. Sinhala, it is said, has a number of small islands in its vicinity, and produces many precious things—jewels and pearls.

Sinhala was formerly, it is said, tenanted by demons and evil genii, alluding evidently to the Hindú legend, of its being the residence of Rávana and the Rákshasas, in which character it appears in the Rámáyana. When Fo visited the island he left the impression of his feet, one on the north of the capital, and the other on the top of a mountain. According to the Cingalese, an impression of the foot of Gautama is visible on the summit of Adam's Peak. In the time of Fa Hian, the supposed site of the other foot-mark was covered by a stately temple, forty chang high, one hundred and twenty-two metres. On the mountain Abhayagiri was a Sang-kia-

tan, with five thousand mendicants. In the city was a building, in which a tooth of Foe was preserved, and which was displayed to the people with great pomp and solemnity in the middle of every third month. Fa Hian remained two years in Sinhala, and notices various places and occurrences, showing the prosperous state of Buddhism in the island. His chief object in prolonging his stay was, however, the procuring of religious books; and he mentions having obtained the volume which contained the precepts of Mi-sha-se, also the long A-han and the miscellaneous A-han, and a collection of different Tsang,—books not found in China, and all written in the Fan language. Of these the first is said to signify, in Sanskrit, the unmanifested, the imperceptible, meanings for which no similar Sanskrit term can be suggested. A-han is more manageable. It is said to mean the unequalled, or rather unattainable law, and is the Sankrit Agama, a term applied to religious writings. Tsang is a Chinese word, but it corresponds in purport to terms in Tibetan, Mongol, and Sanskrit, signifying a container, a receptacle, a vessel, a box or vase,—the Sanskrit word Pitaka, a box or vase, is the designation still given, in Ava and Ceylon, to some of the most important of their religious books. "The revelations of Gotamo," says Mr. Turnour, "orally perpetuated for four centuries, were then collected into the Pitakattya, or the three Pitakas, which now form, if I may so express myself, the Buddhistical Scriptures, divided into Vinayo, Abhidhammo and Satto Pitako." According to the same well-informed writer, the Buddhist Scriptures were first transferred from oral to written perpetuation in Ceylon, in the reign of Wattagámini, between B.C. 104 and 76, a period quite compatible with their multiplication and extension in the fourth century of the Christian æra, when copied by Fa Hian.

At the expiration of two years Fa Hian embarked for Ceylon, and after a voyage of ninety days, in which his ship sprung a leak and encountered a violent storm, he arrived at Ye-pho-thi, Yava-dwipa, the island of Java. He remained there five months, and then again took ship: he again met with bad weather, and at the end of sixty days the crew were short of water. They, therefore, bore up to the promontory of Lao, part of a range in the district of Lai-chu-fu, in the province of Shan-tong,—still bearing the same appellations according to M. Landresse. Fa Hian's companions, after taking in water and provisions, proceeded on their voyage to Yang-chu, but he remained at Tsing-chu, a city still so called, in Shan-tong: after a short stay he resumed his route towards Chang-an, but stopped on his way in the south at Kiang-ning-fu,

or Nankin, as M. Landresse supposes, having been absent from China fifteen years, or six years on his way to India, six years a resident there, and three on his return,—the latter took place in the twelfth of the years I-yi, corresponding with A. D. 414.

Fa Hian records but few details of his voyage, but there are some that merit notice. He leaves Sinhala in a merchant-vessel large enough to contain more than two hundred persons, and provisioned for the long voyage across the Indian Ocean. The storm that he encountered was an incident likely enough to have occurred in those latitudes. His fellow-voyagers make for a small island, perhaps one of those along the western coast of Sumatra, where they find out and repair the leak, but they are in great alarm lest they should be attacked by pirates, with whom those seas abounded, —the Malays being then addicted to the same practices which they still pursue.

Of Java, Fa Hian merely mentions that the heretics and Brahmans are there in great numbers, but that there is no question of the law of Fo. Scanty as is the observation, it is of importance. Fa Hian remained five months on the island, and would most assuredly have found out any vestige of Buddhism, had such existed. The Brahmanical religion then preceded Buddhism in Java, and the establishment of Hindús was prior to the fourth century. The evidence thus furnished corroborates the tradition of the natives, respecting the arrival of colonists from India, from Kling, or the Coromandel Coast, in the first century after Christ, although Sir S. Raffles and Mr. Crawfurd have hesitated to believe in so remote a date. Fa Hian's testimony is decisive as to the non-existence of Buddhists in the beginning of the fifth century, and their increase in numbers and influence so as to have led to the construction of the magnificent temple of Buro Bodor, must have been the work of two or three centuries at least, confirming opinions I have elsewhere advocated, that from the fifth to the eighth century was the period of the great migration of the Buddhists to the Eastward, consequent upon some partial persecution of the sect by the Brahmans.

Another important fact derivable from Fa Hian's testimony, is the extent and adventurous character of Hindú navigation. It has been sometimes denied that the Hindús ever were navigators, notwithstanding the proofs afforded by the commerce of the Red Sea, that ships must have come from the continent of India thither, and that they were freighted not only with the products of India, but of the farther East. Now in Fa Hian's voyage from Tamoliti to

Ceylon we have no reason to suppose the infrequency of Hindú voyages by sea, or that the voyagers or mariners were other than natives of India. Again, in the vessel that sails from Ceylon, we may possibly have Cingalese navigators; but we find Brahmans in Java, and if Hindús went not to sea, how did they get there? But in the subsequent part of the voyage we have proof that Brahmanical Hindús at least, if not Brahmans, voyaged even to China; and, by the way, we have also evidence that the Javanese tradition, mentioned by Sir S. Raffles, which places the first intercourse with China in the tenth century, is wholly unfounded. With regard, however, to the crew of the vessel in which Fa Hian sailed from Java, it is related by him that when they reached the shore near Lao, they employed him to interpret for them with the people of the country,—consequently they were not Chinese. What were they then? We shall hear: "After a passage of a month, a frightful wind and a violent rain came on in the second watch of the night. The merchants and passengers were all equally terrified; Fa Hian immediately, and with all his heart, prayed to Ku-an-shi-in, and to all the religious of the land of Han, imploring the gods to succour them and make the heavens tranquil. When the weather became calm the Brahmans took counsel amongst them and said, 'It is the presence of this Samanean on board that has brought all this danger upon us. Let us leave him on the shore of some island in the sea.' And so would they have done had not the Tan-yuei (the benefactor, the patron, from the Sanskrit Dána, a gift), of the poor pilgrim taken his part, and threatened the merchants with the anger of the king of China if they abandoned him." Here then we have Brahmans on board ship,—merchants trading to China, and exercising an authority which showed that the mariners were subordinate to them, if, indeed, by merchants Fa Hian does not mean mariners also, as is most probable. Fa Hian had lived too long in India to mistake his men, and their hostility to a Samanean is a confirmation of the accuracy of the designation. It deserves remark also, that these Brahmans had no intention of creeping along the shore; for it is said that their vessel, like the former, carried two hundred people, and was provisioned for fifty days. In the voyage from Ceylon the ship was provided for ninety days, and for two hundred people to be maintained at sea for so long a term, shows neither timidity nor inexperience in the art of navigation. It is wholly gratuitous, therefore, to dispute the claims of the Hindús to be considered as engaging in maritime commerce from early times. The well-known passage of Manu respecting marine

insurance was not inserted without meaning; and although the Mahábhárata and Rámáyana are silent, having no occasion to refer to the subject, yet in other writings, in poems, tales, and plays, dating from the first century before, to the twelfth century after our æra, adventures at sea are detailed, in which Indian sailors and ships alone are concerned. Fa Hian's testimony places the point beyond dispute.

We have thus accompanied the Chinese pilgrim through a protracted route, and although we cannot but wish that he had employed his opportunities to better purpose, yet we are indebted to him for interesting and valuable information.

We find the names of things and places throughout India, Sanskrit, and events and legends specified, or alluded to, evidently derived from Sanskrit writings. We find the Pali language, the immediate offspring of Sanskrit, studied from Khoten to Ceylon, and Buddhist works studied over the same tract, some of which no doubt continue at the present day to be the chief authorities of Buddhism wherever it prevails. With regard to the Buddhist religion, we find it flourishing on the borders of the Great Desert,—prosperous on the upper course of the Indus, on either bank,—declining in the Punjab,—and in a languid state, although existing, on the Jumna and Ganges. In its most sacred seats, east of the latter river, the birth-place of Sákya, and scene of his early career, it had fallen into irreparable decay, and its monuments were crumbling into those mounds of rubbish which are still found in Gorackpore and Tirhut, although a few columns then standing are yet erect. Even in Magadha, or Behar, it had fallen off, and Buddha Gaya was deserted, although some monasteries remained where Buddhist books were preserved. We may infer from the rapidity of Fa Hian's journey eastwards that the faith of Buddha was in no very prosperous condition along the Ganges, until we come to Tamalipti; there we find both Buddhism and commerce flourishing, although neither has left, as far as we yet know, the slightest traces there of its past existence. In Ceylon, Buddhism triumphed as we should have expected it to do from the traditions and annals of the island, whose veracity is thus most satisfactorily confirmed; and, finally, in Java, where it presently after rose into prosperity, it was unknown.

The political information afforded by Fa Hian's travels is less particular than the literary and religious; but he confirms the occupation of the country on the north-west of the Indus, and their encroachments on the Panjab, by the Yu-chi, or Scythians, at a

period which even he calls ancient; and he shows that many of the political divisions, of which we have intimations in the Rámáyana, Mahábhárata, Puránas and other works, such as the principalities of Kanya-Kubja, Srávasti, Kosala, Vaisáli, Magadha, Champa, Tamralipti, were then in existence, thus bearing unquestionable testimony to the authenticity of the accounts which we have of them, and to their being antecedent to the fourth century at the latest, giving us in future that date as a fixed point from which to reckon in all discussions respecting the antiquity of the language, the literature, and the history of the Hindús.

Art. IX.—*History of Tennasserim, by* Captain James Low, *Madras Army,* M.R.A.S., &c. &c.

(*Continued from* vol. iv., p. 332.)

CHAPTER XIV.

JOURNAL OF A PEDESTRIAN TOUR THROUGH THE PROVINCES OF TAVOY, YEA, AND MARTABAN, IN 1825; WITH OBSERVATIONS ON THE PROVINCES TO THE NORTHWARD, FROM MARTABAN; AND ON THE LAOS.

FIRST JOURNEY.

TO THE SUMMIT OF THE RANGE OF MOUNTAINS WHICH BOUND SIAM AND TENNASSERIM.—FEBRUARY, 1825.

This coast having but lately been brought under subjection to the British arms, had not as yet been travelled over by any British officer, and it remained to be proved how far the inhabitants could be confided in, either in the capacity of servants, or as guides and porters on a march.

The Tavoyers have no inducement to make long journeys. The Siam frontier is to them a Rubicon,—while they can reach the towns and villages on the north and south, much easier by water than by land. There are no carriage-cattle on this coast, like the bullocks of India. A few slight carts drawn by buffalos, one only to a cart, are used for short excursions when the roads admit of their being made, or the fields are dry enough to be crossed. Their roads are, however, so very bad, that perhaps five miles may be reckoned the greatest distance in a straight line in any one given direction, and from any point, to which one of these vehicles can proceed without encountering broken-down bridges, gaps in old causeways, sloughs, and rocks.

Without much difficulty about sixty Burman porters were obtained, together with guides. These, joined to the guard of sepoys and servants, made a party of about ninety persons. The Tavoyers are far inferior as porters to the natives of India. They do not, like the latter, carry loads on their heads, but upon pliable slips of bamboo placed over their shoulders. Half a load is suspended at each end of one of these. By this method, called Bhangy in India, these people will not carry, on an average, more than two-

thirds of the weight that a Madras coolie can on his head, although the latter does not really possess so well-knit a frame as the Burman does; but the Burman has to carry his provisions for the journey he is on, so that a traveller really finds but a scanty portion of his own baggage in the porters' wicker-baskets.

14th February, 1825.—Left Tavoy in a thick fog, at six o'clock A.M., the thermometer indicating 64° of temperature of Fahrenheit.

It may be doubted whether, under an English sky, greater alternations of temperature occur in the space of a day than are to be observed on this coast in the months of January, February, and March. At sun-rise the temperature is often at 64°, while at four o'clock in the afternoon it rises to 90°, and upwards.

It was the hot or dry season of the year, and not a drop of rain had fallen for two months, nor was any expected. The elephant and horse had been sent on by a jungle-route, owing to the badness of the path; and I had advanced on foot with some of my party to a distance of ten miles, when a darkness like that produced by an almost total eclipse of the sun, made it advisable for us to halt. Breakfast was hardly over when the thunder-clouds burst, and a deluge of rain fell, a very uncommon occurrence at this season. Our party in the rear not having come up in the afternoon, we retraced our steps to a few wretched huts on the bank of the Pakayé River. Into these, drenched as we all were, we crowded; and fires being made, the people were enabled to dry their clothes, and the guards their accoutrements. My bed-chamber was an enclosed corner, into which the alarmed inmates of the cottage had thrust their moveables, such as spinning-wheels, cotton-carders, baskets, and cooking-pots.

The owner of the cottage was stretched on his back, and some members of the family were watching him with solicitude, while others were employed in chafing his body with their hands. On inquiring the nature of his complaint, an old woman replied that it was fever; and I was about to administer a dose of calomel, when it was discovered that he had the day before fallen from the top of a cocoanut-tree, and that some primary internal organ had been seriously injured. His case was beyond my skill.

The Burmans and Siamese are equally ignorant of the real structure of the human frame; and, in cases resembling this one, they have no recourse to efficient bleeding. Indeed, both of these people undergo the process of shampooing when attacked by fever or rheumatism. The operator treads on the patient with his bare feet, until the latter is in a profuse perspiration, or feels relieved.

15*th.*—On awaking before daylight this morning, I observed the Burmans cooking their breakfasts. These people are very averse to work on an empty stomach, and are still more so to move forward until the sun has risen.

We now advanced through the Pakayé valley, which is narrow, and flanked by low hills; all around us was a dense forest. An ancient brick causeway, up a steep but short ascent, attracted my attention. It led to a small pagoda perched on a rock, overhanging the foaming Pakayé, or Paganye, on the banks of which cardamoms are abundant; the river here eddied in dark and deep pools, which were filled with fish of a large size; some appeared from fifteen to twenty pounds' weight. I have no doubt that these fish would afford great sport to the angler, since I have caught fish with the artificial-fly in mountain-streams to the eastward, and these were observed rising to flies and other objects. They came close to the bank, so that they might have been easily speared.

On desiring some of the Burmans to catch a breakfast for the party, they replied that these fish are considered sacred, and that to kill one might be the means of calling down on their heads the vengeance of the Devatas of the place. Leaving them, therefore, undisturbed, we passed over a wild country clothed in primæval forests. Here numerous herds of elephants find shelter. Their beaten tracks were observed at short distances from each other, and frequently intersecting our path, which last was often perplexed by them. Indeed, ours was much more obstructed by brushwood and grass, than the daily-trodden paths of these sober animals. Numerous as they are in the Tavoy forests, only two were seen during the whole route. One shuffled off the path, and then faced about and stared at us. A round or two of blank ammunition put him to flight.

A rhinoceros one day crossed the path. The porters in advance gave a loud shout, and before the sepoys could learn the cause, they were amused to perceive the whole of these Burmans snug above them on the branches of trees. The rhinoceros of this coast is a short-set, but powerful animal, and he is irascible and dangerous. He seldom fails to attack every one he meets. Luckily his haunts are in the muddy and swampy parts of the forest, across which the path rarely lies.

The wood-leech was this day very troublesome, fastening in numbers on our feet. Many persons, especially soldiers, have lost their lives from the consequences of the apparently insignificant

wound made by its bite. Dangerous ulcers often succeed improper management of the wounds. The leech, when once fastened, should be allowed to remain until satisfied, as it would seem that when struck off before having fully luxuriated, a greater degree of irritation ensues from his bite. The Siamese are impressed with the belief that the bite is peculiarly venomous at the period of gestation.

This day's march terminated at Laukyen, an open spot in the heart of a forest of tall trees and thick bamboos, which spread their foliage so as nearly to intercept the passage of the sun's rays to the earth. Here my elephant and Arab horse were sent back to Tavoy, as it had been found they could not be used,—not so much owing to obstructions in the path, as to the entwining of the boughs over head, leaving only space sufficient for foot passengers. Trusting to the expertness of the Burmans, I had not brought my tent. These people, on our reaching the ground, felled some small trees and a number of bamboos, and with these constructed, in about half an hour, a skeleton house; over this a tarpaulin was thrown, and the sides were composed of a tent wall. This plan was adopted during the remainder of the march, and during subsequent routes. It suits the purpose of a traveller well enough in dry weather; but the monsoon is too violent on this coast to admit of such an expedient during its continuance.

Here I had an opportunity of observing with what ease a Burman can accommodate himself in travelling. Most of my porters had earthen cooking-pots, sufficiently large to prepare a mess of rice,—and amongst every three or four a small iron frying-pan. They seasoned their rice with Chili-salt and balachong; and the woods afforded some esculents, which they fried in oil of sesamé. Several of the men who had not brought cooking-pots, used a joint of bamboo, in which they dressed their rice,—a practice not unknown to the Malays. In this manner a piece of green bamboo, closed at the lower end by the joint, is supported by short green props of wood over the fire. The rice and water are put in, and the former is considered sufficiently dressed when the water has evaporated. The bamboo will not last to boil a second meal.

Much of the success which formerly crowned the ambitious enterprises of the Burmans, is undoubtedly imputable to their being able to subsist during long marches on scanty diet. It was curious to observe in their stockades, after a storm, the arrangements which each person had made for his individual subsistence and comfort. A bamboo held his balachong, a long, narrow bag contained his

rice, and this he carried around his waist when marching. A small gourd, or perchance a bottle picked up by fishermen on the river, into which large quantities were thrown by the British troops, and from the shipping, contained the oil for anointing his body, if he had a servant, but otherwise it was used to clean his musket or other weapon. Dried rice, particularly *kaunyen*, or the *Oryza glutinosa*, is another valuable resource to a Burman. The rice, when used, is either boiled or not, according to taste. In the former case, after being boiled, it is well dried and closely packed; in the latter, the grain is pounded and then kneaded into a paste, to which spices are sometimes added. He has also a small supply of salt and spices, and perhaps dried fish. The quantity of rations allowed to a fighting man has been described in the former part of this work.

There is a hot-spring near Laúkyén, which has been described in another place.[1] The temperature of the water is 144½° of Fahrenheit.

16*th.*—A dense mist, which every few minutes caused the trees to cast a shower below, and a temperature of 64°, kept my people under cover until forced out, the guard from their tent, and the Burmans from their booths, constructed of brushwood. We at length got off, having first breakfasted. Came in sight soon of Chau Phría [in Siamese, "the Lord and King,"] stockade, blocking up a defile. In passing through it one of my porters was disabled by a sharp bamboo stake, which ran into the sole of his foot. Stakes, or slips of bamboo, six inches long, which have been hardened in the fire, are thickly placed amongst the grass around Burman stockades. They have often penetrated the thick shoes of Europeans, and they last for years in the ground. We proceeded through a country clothed in forest,—passed some rocky streams flowing through narrow chasms,—scrambled up the rocky beds of torrents, until after a toilsome walk of four hours and a half we were glad to rest at Wagong, an open space hemmed in by hills, and where there had been once a fortified post. On returning by this route I visited the tin-mines at Búbeinchaung, which have been elsewhere described.[2] We had then a march of twenty-three miles.

17*th.*—Got off at half past seven o'clock, and passed over a difficult hilly country. The view was in general confined by the tall forest-trees to about twenty or thirty yards on either side, so that it became impossible to ascertain correctly the nature of the surrounding country. The water of a hill-rivulet indicated 66° of Fahr.

[1] Vol. iii. p. 321.

[2] Vol. iii. p. 47.

at eight o'clock in the morning. The trees rained on us the collected dew or mist of the preceding night, nearly wetting us through. Were it not for this copious supply of dew, these regions would be parched up during the fine weather. The grass was even verdant after four months had passed without rain, and during which the days were unclouded. The thermometer at the top of Lanjein pass or gorge, stood at 62° at eight o'clock A.M.

Passed the ruins of the Che-up-poeh stockade, famous formerly in the Siamese and Burman wars, but which has been injudiciously placed in a hollow, commanded on both flanks by hills; then threading a bamboo jungle, where tin pits were noticed, we soon reached a prettily diversified country, covered with long grass, and having clumps of trees at intervals of two or three hundred yards. It was ten o'clock, and the mist had just cleared away; a cold south-east wind, with a temperature in the air of 66°, made walking agreeable even at this (for the tropics) advanced hour of the day. The temperature of a neighbouring rivulet, however, only indicated 70° Fahr.

One of our party set fire to the grass, which burned so rapidly around, as to urge us to escape from the heat. On returning, I found that about thirty miles in extent of country was in a blaze. The loud reports made by the splitting bamboos, owing to the water they contained being converted into steam, and the huge red-hot towering trunks of dammer and other resinous trees, seen through clouds of smoke, with the black and scorched surface of the ground, produced a strange effect on the mind.

Reached a spot called Wachappenmao, where a battle was once fought betwixt the Burmans and Siamese. Since the first march we had not seen a habitation, nor did we see one during the remainder of the journey. At half past ten o'clock A.M. the thermometer in the shade was at 70°, and in the sun at 82°. At eleven o'clock crossed the Kyaung, or Chaung Magí River, which further on assumes the name of Chaungyí. It is the Mergui, or Tennasserim River. The breadth of the channel here is one hundred and fifty feet, only fifty of which were covered with water. The bed is rocky, and the current turbulent; but the water is quite transparent, and only knee-deep, except where pools occur. These last are full of large fish of the kind already noticed as having been observed at the pagoda. The banks of the river are fringed with a shrub like a willow.

Having marched twelve miles to-day, which occupied us until about two o'clock P.M., we halted. A large tree shaded us: it was

called by the people Chaungwa, and was loaded with a yellow three-sided fruit.

18*th.*—The thermometer at 64°, at seven o'clock A.M. There was little variety in this day's march, which occupied us seven hours, excepting that we had to ford a pretty rapid current, termed Samet-chaung, no less than twenty-five times. It was, luckily, only about three feet deep upon an average. Observed an almost leafless tree, which was gorgeously covered with large yellow flowers. It is called Tabaun by the Burmans. Many societies of black apes attracted attention by their incessant hooting. Several very beautiful variegated chameleons crossed our path. A medicinal plant, termed Chíndaw, was shown to me by the Burmans. The rhinoceros was, they said, frequently seen by travellers on the track we were on this day. We crossed an oval slough, called Yebú, "hot water;" but if it had ever been a hot-well, there were no present indications of such having given origin to the name. A shrub, bearing clusters of fruit resembling blackberries, fringed the path when it led along the banks of the rivers. This berry is sweet and juicy, and proved a very agreeable resource to us when parched with thirst. The Burmans call it Chea-ma-awk. Another curious fruit, the Burman name for which is Wúnthékyé, and the Siamese Dímé, was pulled from a high tree. It resembles a large cucumber in shape and size, but it is not edible. Several Tabyúbén trees, with a red bark, were also noticed.

The thermometer at sunset indicated 76° of Fahrenheit. We were in the midst of a dark forest. The Burmans made themselves merry with a sepoy who had wrapped himself in a priest's yellow mantle, which he had bought at Rangoon, or elsewhere. They made him learn their confession of faith, (beginning, *Namo Phúttho Bhakhawato*, &c.) and then listened to him as if they had been his disciples; next they put a fan made of leaves and an earthen cooking-pot into his hands, and sent him to levy a contribution of rice from the surrounding groups. This trait may serve to show that, however the Tavoyers may be influenced by their religion in performing the common duties of life, they have no great reverence for it abstractedly considered. They are a good-humoured people, and can take, and laugh at, a joke—whether satirical or practical. A native of Hindústan does not well understand the one or the other, particularly if the inflictor is an European.

19*th.*—The bugler had much difficulty in rousing the party this morning, although at daybreak the mercury only stood at 66°. The route was rugged. We crossed the Samet-chaung river twelve

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several times, for it here winds amongst low hills, and nearly fills the whole breadth of the gorge, which last seldom exceeds thirty yards. The path was greatly obstructed by entwining bamboos and fallen trees. Observed much vertical strata of slate, of an ash colour. The bed of the river disclosed huge masses of gray granite.

Having marched three hours and a half, we found that we had been gradually ascending. The thermometer at ten o'clock A.M. indicated 70°, about 10° lower at least than the general temperature in Tavoy at that hour. This difference, making allowance for local circumstances, will give about two thousand feet elevation to this part of the belt of hills above the plain. Having passed through a defile to which we inclined from our general direction, we reached the foot of the Nayedaung Pass which leads into the Siamese dominions. The place was chilly and noisome at mid-day; and to prevent the bad effects of an atmosphere charged with noxious vegetable exhalations, the underwood was cleared and burned along with decayed logs. The temperature at sunset, 74°.

20th.—Sent back the baggage to the last stage, and ascended the pass along with eight sepoys and some followers. The morning was clear and cool, and gave full effect to the extensive view which I now obtained of the country for one hundred miles, or more, around. The scene was wild and striking, just as fashioned by Nature's earliest effort; but it wanted the cultivated plain, the hamlet, the city and pagoda, to render it perfect.

Towards Siam, range succeeds range, over a geographical space of perhaps thirty miles at least in breadth, until terminated by a high and flat line or ridge. On the Tavoy side, the Tavoy Peak was observed peeping over the intermediate ranges, while more to the west the country opened, being diversified by low hills and narrow valleys.

As no European, perhaps, had ever been on this ridge, and as it had hitherto been considered the boundary betwixt Siam and Tavoy, I carved the letters B. E. I. C. on a slab, by help of an axe and knife, in the best manner that such rude implements would admit of, and buried it betwixt the two piles of stones which crown the summit. These piles are a few yards asunder, and have been erected by travellers from Tavoy and Siam to denote their respective boundaries. On the Siam pile some wicker human figures were found dangling, and a tattered flag. Here a sealed bottle was left, enclosing a paper importing that a British officer had been at the spot, and had ascertained the boundary betwixt Siam and the newly-conquered country of Tavoy. The British flag was then hoisted on the

Tavoy side, and saluted with three rounds of musketry, when it was pulled down and a common handkerchief substituted. Both were, as I afterwards learned, carried to Siam; and the Lascar's handkerchief was magnified into a Union Jack.

At eleven o'clock A.M. the thermometer stood at 74° on the summit. I do not consider the extreme height of this pass to exceed three thousand feet above the level of the sea, and would incline to rate it at two thousand five hundred. It is evidently itself a mere step in the ladder of hills beyond it. I consider the whole of this very broad Siamese range of mountains to fall considerably short of the Ghâts which frown upon the Malabar coast in average height, although some of the insulated peaks may be equal in elevation to those of the latter. There are only, as far as I could see, three distinct ranges on the Tavoy side, with an intermediate hilly and undulating country. These form narrow valleys, through which flow the Pakayé, the Kadéngert, the Chaungyí, and Samet-chaung, which last is a branch of the Chaungyí, I believe.

It is only six or seven forced marches from this pass to Siam, if the term be applicable where the greatest part of the distance is passed over in boats; but double that time would be occupied by an army. It may be remarked, that a considerable army, even if unincumbered with artillery and heavy baggage, could not advance from this pass to Tavoy, or vice versa, at a greater rate than eight, or at most, ten miles a day. At present the route is not practicable to artillery, baggage-elephants and cattle, or to horse. It is fifty-four miles and three furlongs, by road measurement, from the wharf at Tavoy to the top of the pass,—giving about forty-seven miles in a direct line.

Our provisions falling short, owing to some deception practised by the Burmans, who were afraid of the Siamese, and thought that, by taking a scanty supply, they would have compelled me to return before having reached the frontier, I was obliged to make forced marches back to Tavoy, which we reached on the evening of the 23rd, without any accident.

For the benefit of pedestrians in this or similar countries, I may remark that thin shoes are preferable to thick ones in passing rugged tracks,—they make the footing surer, they are light, they last long enough, and do not hurt the feet like thick-soled ones.

JOURNAL OF A SHORT JOURNEY FROM TAVOY TO THE WEST COAST.

January.—Slept in a shed at the village of Cheamá on the west bank of the Tavoy river. The betel-vine gardens had a refreshing look, while every blade of grass around was withered. The vine is trained to slender props. Women water them, morning and evening, from a well. The mode of raising the water is similar in most respects to that used on the Coromandel coast, only it is better adapted to individual strength: a thin round bamboo is supported on a pole ten feet high; the date-leaf bucket is attached to a thin rod which is fixed to one end of the bamboo, while from the other a stone is suspended: a woman can manage all with one hand.

Several neat pagodas crown the low ridge which runs along this bank of the river. It is curious to observe, both in India and in Burmah, that the edifices dedicated to religious purposes invariably possess local advantages on their sites, beyond other structures in their vicinity. However deficient in taste as an architect the Buddhist priest may be, yet he displays taste in selecting favourable ground for his residence. Shaded by the fruit trees planted by the devotee, he has full leisure, if disposed, to meditate on the eight divine attributes of Buddha—to hum his breviary of one hundred and eight sentences, or paragraphs, at each of which he tells a bead —and to attend to the instruction of youth.

But the Phúngí, or Burman priest, is rarely absorbed in devotional exercises. He knows enough of Pali, to read it as an ignorant Indian Islamite does an Arabic Koran, or an equally ignorant Roman Catholic a Latin prayer; and he reclines on his greasy mat or cot, to receive, without acknowledgment of obligation, the offerings of fruits and clothes, &c., which gaily-dressed damsels bring to his Kyaum, or monastery, on every occasion of ceremony, such as public periodical festivals, marriages, births, and burials. The fair on these occasions are often preceded by music, but its harsh peals would stun devotion, did such exist in a proper form. Sometimes the priest may be found mending his old garments, when the zeal of his flock does not make them take the task on themselves.

The Nak'hantau miyan Phría pagoda is the neatest in Tavoy: it stands on the top of a low hill, and is approached by a flight of one hundred and thirty-two steps, made of bricks laid edgewise, a mode adopted in this country whenever causeways and floors are to be made of such materials. This flight of steps is flanked by low brick-parapets. The entrance to the flight is guarded by two mon-

strous grim figures, ycleped lions. They are constructed of mortar, and are eighteen feet high.

From the top of this ascent a flight of eighteen broad steps leads to the entrance of the first area: another of five steps to the interior. The pagoda is not above one hundred feet high, and has sixteen lesser ones disposed around it. This would be a strong post in war.

Under a shed I observed several large bells. One is two feet high, two inches in thickness at the rim, and twenty-three inches diameter. The inscription upon it gives it an age of thirty-seven years only.

The square pillars supporting the bells are faced by figures nearly as large as life. They are, a Thewada, or inferior deity, with his hands in the attitude of adoration; that is, folded and brought up nearly on a level with his face: Siggiamen, or the Recording Spirit, with the book in his hands, in which he writes down the deeds of men,—good actions on the golden leaves, and evil ones on those of dog-skin parchment: two Rakhshas, or giants; Thiggya, (the Gurwa, or Bundna of the Hindús), and a Thewada, who holds in his hands a flagon, from which he is pouring out water as an attestation of good actions having been performed by certain mortals.

The Burmans, when they have carried their offerings to the temple, repeat special formulæ. Each holds a jar of water, which he pours out on the ground while in the act of reciting. He expects that this ceremony will arouse Wasaumdrí, the Goddess of Earth, to witness the sincerity of his devotion. Next comes Ganga, here represented in the act of wringing her black and flowing tresses, to replenish the diminished stream. The other two figures are Rakhshas.

From this pagoda a fine view is caught of the town and the windings of the river. The magnetic iron-stone rock in the vicinity of this pagoda has been noticed in the remarks on the geology of this coast.[1]

FROM TAVOY TOWARDS THE SOUTHERN BOUNDARY.

March 3, 1825.—The weather proving very sultry, and the only method of proceeding being by walking, it was thought advisable to make short stages. The baggage was carried on men's shoulders,

[1] Vol. iii. p. 319.

and a small guard of soldiers was taken as a requisite precaution in a country so recently conquered.

Marched at seven A.M., over a level country cultivated with rice. The road, for a mile at least, is formed of bricks laid edgewise, and raised a few feet above the surface of the fields. In the rainy season these teem with fish, which the people take by constructing small weirs.

Crossed the Kameindá chaung river by a tottering wooden bridge, supported by huge beams, and which rest deep in the mud. This bridge was two hundred and fifteen yards in length, and about twenty feet high above the low water-mark.

We passed next a pretty village, of the same name as the river, and where a shady mango-tree grove invited us to rest a few minutes. A well has been here sunk for the use of travellers. It is nineteen feet deep, and lined with bricks. The water was sixteen feet below the surface.

Respecting the bridge alluded to, it may be observed that it is guarded at the extremities by Dewtas, or warders, carved in wood. On the south side are brahmanical wooden figures,—one holds in his hands the sacred shell, the other a book and pen. They have peculiarly shaped head-dresses, resembling crowns.

About nine o'clock we reached Chía Mukthí Yuwa, a village four miles and a half from Tavoy. The sun was powerful, and rendered the shelter of an open choultry, or wooden house, which was found by the road-side, very acceptable.

The temperature of Fahrenheit's thermometer was here 94° at noon, and 93° at three P.M. The village consists of thirty houses, and the site, as usual with the villages in this tract of country, is a natural mound or eminence, sufficiently elevated to preserve it from being flooded.

A pagoda, and a large kyaum, or monastery, render this village one of some note. It is constructed partly of brick which forms the lower wall, and partly of wood of which the upper walls consist. The roofs are covered with tiles of very small size. Inside, the pillars and ceiling are painted and gilded. The building is a square, and has much of the appearance of a Kanara Jain temple. The chief figure of Buddha sits inshrined in a dark recess, with a grated-door, which last is generally kept locked; but the Phúngíes will open it to any stranger desirous of seeing, or of paying respects to the statue: small gilded Buddhas are ranged along the cornices. Crowds of worshippers visit this shrine at the various festivals. As the devotees are chiefly women, and these are dressed in their gayest

silks, the assemblage on special days has a very lively effect on an observer.

The worshipper strikes with a deer's horn one of the bells suspended in the temple, and he repeats, after the priest, some Pali sentences which he does not understand. Offerings of fruits, flowers, and confectionary, are made, which, as usual, go to the tables of the Phúngíes.

There is no *prapatha,* or impression of the Divine foot, in this pagoda. But a very distinct one may be seen at the monastery, just beyond the south wall of Tavoy.

March 4.—Marched at day-light. The temperature of the air was found to be 74° of Fahrenheit. Observed many neat hamlets, prettily fenced in with hedges of bamboo. Crossed the Chá chaung, a stream of thirty-seven yards wide, by a plank-bridge without a railing, and raised twenty-two feet above the water. Passed Chah-eng, a pleasant village in a grove of Dorian, and other fruit-trees. The Dorian cannot, if pulled ripe, be kept above two or three days; but the natives never, I believe, allow any fruit to ripen fully on the tree; and they pull the Dorians in so green a state, that they are enabled to carry on a gaining petty traffic in them with Rangoon, and the adjacent ports. They were formerly sent yearly to Amarapura for the king's use, and the conveyance was either by war-boats, or by relays of horse-runners stationed betwixt Martaban and Amarapura. The Dorian of this coast is not so large as that sort produced on the Malacca peninsula and Junkceylon. We passed over many nullahs by help of loose planks; and at Hambok chaung, a deep nullah or river, accessible to the tide, and seventeen paces wide, there was only a single plank laid across. The ponds seen on this day's journey were covered with teal.

5th.—Walked this morning at six A. M. during a dense fog; thermometer 74°. The fog did not clear away until eight o'clock. The road is over a prettily diversified country, and well cultivated according to Burman taste. Crossed, about two miles from our resting-place during the past night, the Chá chaung river, by a plank-bridge of twenty-two feet elevation. The stream is thirty-seven yards wide, and is affected by the tide: it rises in the Nalabodaung hills. Halted for the day at the village of The-un Nekwa, which derives its name from a stream having its source in the Kún-so-un-daun hills, where on the heights are two white temples, conspicuous even from the mouth of the Tavoy river. The population of this and other villages consists, in the cultivating season, of two classes, those who constantly live a rural life, and those who pass

the winter or the rainy season in town to spend what they have acquired. The Tavoy river was here approached within two miles' distance.

Crossed a river, early after leaving The-un Nekwa, over a tottering plank-bridge seventy-five paces in length. The route is over a country tolerably cultivated, and rather more undulating than to the northward. We passed about seven villages on the way, few of which consisted of more than ten houses, the largest had only fifteen. There were at Padá, where we halted for the day, only nine houses.

A Karean family came to visit me, and some of the sepoys showed them a sheep which we had brought along with us, telling them that it was a holy animal; one of the Kareans immediately began to pay his obeisances. The same sheep was the cause of a ludicrous occurrence during the ensuing night; the place being very secluded, and reported to be in the track of thieves and tigers, the servants became very apprehensive; the cook was so alarmed, that in the middle of the night, which was very dark, he mistook the sheep for a tiger, and vociferated in such a manner as to rouse us all. In the meantime he came in contact with the bayonet of the sentry, who did not see him, but who seized him, supposing him to be a robber. The wound was fortunately not very severe.

Many fruit-trees were here noticed. The dorian, which bears in July; the Jack, which bears in March; oranges, in December; mangos, in the latter end of March; plantains, the Jambú, and the Rambei, besides others of lesser note. The climbing-indigo is here cultivated, instead of the small-leaved bush raised in India; it is propagated from the slip, and is hardy; the size of the leaf is four inches and a half in length and two in breadth.

Many valuable woods grow in the neighbouring forests; and sesame is an object of culture of considerable value. The Kareans are the chief cultivators. Vinegar is here made from the juice of the Nipah-palm. The Burmans are extremely fond of acids, and will often prefer an unripe mango with salt to the ripe fruit. Wild animals are numerous in this track.

7th.—Left Padá at six o'clock A.M., the thermometer showing 62° of temperature, a degree of coolness to which the human frame becomes keenly sensitive after experiencing the heat of a midsummer Tavoy day: the difference betwixt the temperature at the above hour, and that at noon of the same day, was at least thirty degrees!

The road was wilder to-day than hitherto. Crossed the Powo,

a nullah, by a rural bridge of felled nipahs and bamboos, only a foot broad and twelve above the water. Such a rude bridge is apt to discompose a nervous person, especially if he sees the tide rising fast; the depth then may be fifteen feet, and the steep banks are lined with deep mud. This stream rises, the natives said, in the Cha Phiya hills, near Thya-én; large boats can go beyond the bridge. We halted, soon after crossing the river, at Pawút or Paunwút, a village lying at the base of the Kandoung hills, consisting of twenty houses with a population of eighty souls. To the eastward of Pawút a dense forest extends over hill and valley: into this the buffaloes are driven to seek food in the dry season, when the plain is parched up.

We continued our journey after dinner, and halted for the night at Kuezat, or Kyúezat, " Buffalo-ferry."

8th.—We went on at the usual hour of half past five o'clock this morning. It was not deemed safe, on account of tigers being numerous, to march until broad day-light. Crossed the Labá river, here eighteen yards wide; the road beyond this passed over very uneven, undulating, and rocky ground; the rocks were granitic. Reached Pímbyú, a distance of seven miles and one-eighth, at nine o'clock. Betwixt this place and Taungchín is a hot-spring, which was not visited by me, no information having been received at the time regarding it. This village contains about thirty houses at the utmost, and the people are chiefly Peguers; they were very good-humoured, and were easily persuaded to exhibit their mode of dancing. Their musical instruments, consisting of a violin, a flute, and drums, were brought forth, a circle was formed, and both sexes danced by the light of dammer-torches, until they and the spectators were sufficiently tired. The dance was heavy and spiritless, and not much better than what may be found amongst the Malays; but there is this difference betwixt the Malays and Peguers, that the latter dance for their own amusement, the former rarely, unless for hire.

9th.—It was pleasantly cool at sun-rise this morning, the thermometer indicating a temperature of 64°. We passed over much high ground covered with forests, and through ravines amongst low hills. The guides described this as the route taken by Along Phría (Alompra) when he invaded Siam; but that the passes and road in general are not so practicable as the Nayédaung route. From an oval plain termed Telabounbín, two high hills were observed, Chaung taung, lying on the north (N. 68° E.), and Thén daung on the south (S. 35° W.) After walking eight miles, which took three hours, we halted at the village Taung chín, or Kyún sén, lying within the

district of Taung Byaup. Three or four hamlets only had been seen during the march. The people at Kyún sén informed me that the Siamese predatory incursions to make prisoners extended sometimes thus far.[1] The inhabitants of this village (and indeed of most of the district) are Peguers. They voluntarily came in the evening with their village band, which was very badly furnished with instruments: one violin and a tambourine composed it. The young men and women danced together in slow measure, and also exhibited separately; and they returned quite gratified with a small present and a little brandy. It may be remarked, that the Peguers and Tavoyers are not scrupulous adherents to the injunctions of their religion, where these aim at restraining the indulgence of the senses. They consider such ordinances as chiefly made for the guidance of their priests.

10th.—We went on next morning only two miles,—crossing the Taung Byaup river, and halting at the pretty village of Mendat on its south bank. It consists of about twenty houses, and has several villages attached. The people employ themselves chiefly in cultivating rice, tobacco, and esculents. The district yields most of the articles used in the Tavoy trade; cardamoms are obtained from the Kareans, who live near the sources of the river; the Acheiche miyet is a plant, the root of which is masticated, and rubbed on wounds made by snakes or other venomous creatures.

There is a hot-spring at Yebú (which word signifies *hot water*), at some distance to the north. The rocks in the stream, which were observed while towing up it, are all of granite; large native boats ascend to Mendat.

11th.—Reached Yangé, four miles and three furlongs from Mendat. The road lies over a country prettily diversified, and clear of jungle, except on the skirts of hills. There is a short stony pass over a ridge, but the ascent is not steep. The Yangé peak is seen to advantage from a spot on the route called Yange nga én bín. Yangé is a straggling village, about a quarter of a mile long, yet contains only about twenty houses. A stream, affected by the tide and thirty yards wide, runs through the village. It empties itself opposite to the Cheamá, placed one tide from Yangé.

The site of the village is romantic, being nearly hemmed in by hills. The villagers of both sexes met me out of compliment at the entrance of this village; the women carried on their heads large lacquered Burman trays, which contained various ready-cooked dishes

[1] There is a hot-spring betwixt Pímbyú and Taungchín.

for myself and party—chiefly rice and curries; Nipah wine was also brought. Such civility was repaid by money, although the cookery was not suitable either to European or Hindústani taste, so that the porters had the whole to themselves. There is a miserable monastery here, sheltering an equally miserable priest.

It was with difficulty that a couple of fowls could be got for my table, as the people seemed to have no desire to sell any.

From Taung Byaup village there is a route, in a south-east direction, of six hours, leading to a small stream called Benkhyaung, which last falls into the great Mergui river, according to Karean accounts. As the country is wild and jungly to the southward of this village, I returned after breakfast under a fervid sun to Mendat.

Mendat was a place of some consequence, before the inroads of the Siamese rendered a residence in it insecure. This may be supposed from the existence still of a large kyaum and a pagoda; a few ignorant priests yet crawl about the precincts of the sacred spot. Provisions, especially fish and venison, are plentiful; one of the villagers had a regular pack of dogs, which he kept to hunt the deer; they were kennelled in due form, a precaution which was apparently taken more on account of their fierceness than for the sake of discipline. The owner seemed to be a successful sportsman; he brought a deer, at my request, in the space of two hours after unkennelling his pack. The flesh of the deer in this country is not highly flavoured.

The Taung Byaup river becomes very rocky about fifteen miles above Mendat. We were obliged to land on one of the rocks, the canoe being in danger of upsetting in the rapid. Hence Yebu Daung hill bears S. 70° E., about fifteen miles distant. At high tides boats can go much higher up, for the high water-mark seemed to be nearly twenty feet above the bed of the river; and at neap-tides the mark may be about ten feet. Some Karean boats passed down the river. Observed the wild mangosteen growing on the banks: it is a distinct species from the cultivated kind; the fruit is about the same size in both; but that of the tree found here has eight lobes, while the cultivated fruit has rarely more than five. Taung Byaup village lies above this rocky rapid. The banks of the river are well cultivated; the Kareans live chiefly about thirty miles above Mendat, and descend to Taung Byaup on bamboo-rafts. Salt is made at the mouth of the river. Two days south is the station called Pé-on, on the river of that name, and about one tide up.

JOURNAL OF THE EXPEDITION TO PEGU, UNDER LIEUTENANT-COLONEL MALLET, IN 1824.

Being anxious to visit the ancient seat of the Peguan dynasty, I took the opportunity, although not called on by duty, of accompanying the expedition which was ordered against the place, under Lieutenant-Colonel Mallet.

I hoped to be able to obtain some of the records which it was supposed the priests might still be possessed of, and to gain information regarding the ancient condition of the country.

At my request Colonel Mallet obligingly allowed me to join his personal-staff during the excursion; and Captain Chads, R. N. politely invited me to meet his party at meals on board of his boat, an offer which was duly appreciated, more particularly as it was difficult at this time to get supplies of provisions, and still more so for a stranger to find a cook to dress them.

A great scarcity of boats prevailed at the period alluded to,—at least it was no easy matter to get one for hire. The officer commanding had an open row-boat, with a tarpauling to stretch as a shelter. My boat, a good-sized ship's cutter, was manned by three rowers and a steersman only, and four sepoys of my escort. Captain Jones, aide-de-camp to Colonel Mallet, accepted my offer of half of the after-part of my boat.

November 26th.—Embarked in the evening, and dropped down to the mouth of the Pegu river.

27th.—At daylight next morning the fleet of boats was off Kíjú, a small village. The scene was animated, for the stream being narrow there was a close competition amongst the boats to outstrip each other. Some of these, which appeared to have been Burman cargo-boats, had very high bows and sterns, and one which conveyed Colonel Brodie and his party was very unwieldy, and frequently went broadside-on, clearing all before it. About two miles above Kíjú is the large village Deja, with two stockades. No opposition was made here, and the inhabitants were observed scampering into the jungle with as many of their effects as they could well carry. No one was permitted to land. The banks were generally observed to be covered with high grass,—the soil alluvial.

About nine o'clock, reached a place called Mátamíú, where there is a village up a small creek; and twenty minutes afterwards a small village on the north bank, called Malúng Chaung. When the tide failed the boats were moored for the night in the middle of the

stream, to prevent a surprise, and keep the detachment together. It was chilly during the night; and to a very heavy dew, which made it advisable for our party to use blankets, succeeded a thick mist at sunrise, which hung over the river until eight o'clock A. M.

28th.—Weighed at sunrise. The river became narrower and winding, with reaches of from about a quarter of a mile to half a mile in length, and the banks so high and covered with low jungle, as to exclude the view of the surrounding country. The detachment pushed so rapidly up, that on one occasion the large boat before alluded to, and mine, were left behind at a considerable distance; and latterly I was left alone, owing to the heaviness of my boat and want of hands; but a sepoy swam on shore with a rope, and by tracking and rowing we soon got out of our unpleasant situation. About nine o'clock A. M. a bamboo-jungle was noticed on the banks.

We halted at a village on the south bank, called Kúwa, consisting of about twenty-five houses of Peguers. The people fled on our approach, leaving most of their effects and domestic animals. Upon a disposition appearing in some of the people from the boats to plunder, all those who had landed were instantly ordered on board. The fine poultry, which were here rather plentiful, were no small incitements to appropriation, to men who had long been living on salt meat, dried fish, and other sorts of unwholesome diet.

Several Karean villagers followed to the bank a party which had rather unceremoniously helped themselves to some of their property: the latter was immediately recovered for them. Their confidence in British humanity and justice was here conspicuous. The Kareans, who are regular cultivators and settlers, are a stout race of men.

During the night we were harassed by swarms of mosquitoes.

29th.—At the second turn above the village of Kúwa, we passed the stockaded village of Moganen. The situation is commanding, and an enemy might have done from it much mischief had one been there in force: an alarm-musket or two only were fired, to apprise their friends higher up. The river is here about thirty yards wide at the bend of the village, with banks of stiff clay, fifteen feet high. Here were found a number of old boats and rafts filled with combustibles, which the Burmans had been too much taken by surprise to set fire to. Captain Chads with his boats now pushed on in advance beyond Pegu, and early in the forenoon the detachment landed opposite to the fort without opposition. As, however, it had before been found that the Burmans, when stockaded, seldom

appeared to an attacking force until it had got close on them, the troops were formed for an attack if required.

Captains Jones, Brisco, Trant,[1] and myself, were sent with a reconnoitring party in advance. We passed the gateway of the old fort, and advanced, without opposition, to the Shúí Madú or Modo pagoda, lying about a mile in front. The inhabitants fled, and no one made any opposition, although it had been reported that a party of the enemy were here.

Having little time to spare, the bearings of remarkable objects were taken first, and then my attention was directed to the pagoda and its vicinity. Its height and appearance have been already described by Symes and others. It has lost all the gilding formerly bestowed upon it, but looks on that account more venerable. In a temple below was found seated one great image of Buddha, with a mitre-shaped head-dress. In front of this one were four others of less dimensions, and about three hundred of all sizes.

The old fort is one mile square at the least, as nearly as I could judge by pacing. There are a few ruined pagodas on some heights within the area; and many rice-fields, and low jungle. A melancholy air of desolation pervades this ruined seat of a once flourishing dynasty; and a miserable assemblage of huts within the fort, and a scattered village without, containing in all about five or six hundred souls, only serve to exhibit in a stronger light the perishable nature of power and the ravages of time. The old ditch is yet, in some parts, in tolerable repair, being lined with brick. It is ninety feet wide. The wall is fourteen paces from it; and although ruined, is yet thirty-four feet thick and twelve feet high.

A range of hills, apparently about forty miles distant, are seen towards the east; but the general view is dreary and monotonous, extending over a level plain, clothed in thick jungle to appearance, and in which one cannot distinguish the scattered villages of the Peguers and Kareans, unless by an occasional volume of smoke.

Buffaloes were observed in plenty here; and a few ponies were running loose, but we had no time to seize them, or means of transport had we caught them. In a Phúngí's kyaum I selected a few books, but none of much interest.

The troops were ordered to embark a few hours after we had landed, and the property of the people who had fled was left nearly untouched. It was found impossible to prevent some pilfering;

[1] A gentleman whose exertions during the war have added, I believe, considerably to our geographical knowledge of Asia.

and after embarkation, and during the night, the crowing of cocks in the boats betrayed some secrets.

In walking about I met one or two men, whom I persuaded to return to their houses; and who collected their poultry, for which they thankfully received payment.

The current being rapid our return was expeditious, and when at dawn in the morning of the next day we arrived near the point of junction of the Rangoon and Pegu rivers, the splendid pagoda of Shúí Dagaung was observed glittering at intervals through the dense smoke in which a heavy fire of artillery had enveloped it, while the bursting of shells and discharge of Burman fire-arms convinced us that Rangoon was invested. Although the Burman left-wing extended close down to this place, they did not molest us on our passage,—perhaps we were not observed until past them.

February 4, 1825.—Previous to the taking of Tavoy, it was not known whether or not any direct route, accessible to troops, existed from the sea to it across the range of hills which flank the coast. This induced me to examine the country in that quarter.

Crossed the river about a mile above Tavoy, at the place where stood the old town of Mea Haung, to Kamyá. Close to this village, on a beautiful sloping hill, there is an old pagoda, with a long flight of brick steps leading up to it, and flanked on both sides by a low wall. The entrance is guarded by two lion-warders. They consist of brick and lime, and are about fifteen or twenty feet high.

5*th*.—Left Kamyá at five o'clock this morning, and soon began to ascend the range of hills. The road is very steep: having walked nearly five miles and a half the pass was surmounted. The whole route, with the exception of about a quarter of a mile, lies through a forest. The descent is very rocky and precipitous, and the only path for the first forty yards is the rocky bed of a mountain-torrent. My horse could hardly be led over, and was sent a little way round through the jungle. Some holes filled with water were found in it: the thermometer being placed in one showed a temperature, at seven o'clock A.M., of 76° Fahrenheit.

Maung Magan, or Gong tank, which was soon reached, was found to be six miles from the Tavoy river. It has a population of ninety souls. The men are chiefly employed in catching and salting or drying fish, especially young sharks. There does not appear to be any good harbour on this part of the coast; but a body of troops

might easily have been landed here, and marched across in three hours to Kamyá. Hence they might have found means, by seizing boats or otherwise, to cross the Tavoy river, and in one day might have been enabled to attack the weakest side of the town of Tavoy, instead of the tedious, and in face of an enterprising enemy, difficult plan which was put into practice by the expedition, of forcing vessels up the river, filled as it is with sand-banks. If the Tavoyers had annoyed the ships in their long passage up, in the manner that the Burmans at Rangoon did the fleet there, much damage might have been done.

After breakfast, the head man of the village, Pandaién, invited me to walk to it. It was found to contain eighty persons. The oldest of these, a woman, said she had seen eighty years; her appearance, however, did not quite confirm her assertion. The villagers of these countries are bad reckoners of time, and a woman's age can only be guessed at within a year or two by dividing her life into three parts—the age at which she was married, that during which she had children, with an account of their number, and the time elapsed since the birth of the last. The people here are darker in complexion, less athletic, and worse-featured than those of Tavoy; and the women, having been inured to hard work at all times, soon lose the bloom of youth. The situation of Maung Magan is healthful and pleasant.

The temperature to-day at four o'clock P.M., which is generally the hottest time of the day, was 82°, and at sunset $80\frac{1}{2}$°, with a clear sky.

6th.—Set off at five o'clock A.M.,—the thermometer at 72°: winded through much scattered jungle, in a southerly direction, to Chaup Chén, only seven furlongs from Maung Magan. Leaving my people here, I rode through low jungle for two miles, to where the path led to the sea-beach. Here is a pretty bay, called Sabo Chait, but only three huts were observed. The beach is a hard sand, but beyond this many rocks were observed. A high hill, called Búng Chángdáng, bearing N. 10° W., produces a fine effect viewed from this place. Proceeded to the southern extremity of this bay, where a stream flows into the sea, seven furlongs and a half from the path before noticed. Turning, then, a rocky point another bay opened itself; the shore is rocky, with a fine broad stripe of white sand; it is called Siddá-á. Went on to its southern extremity, two miles one furlong and a quarter. Here was found a clear stream of fresh water flowing into the sea; from bank to bank the breadth is two hundred and fifty yards; it is called

Moyé chaung. No inhabitants were found, although a village once stood here; the place seems favourable for watering at.

Leaving the horse on the north bank, I crossed the stream, then only knee-deep, but having a bottom of shifting sand. Having passed over the neck of land which forms the south extreme of Siddá-á bay, another fine bay was observed, stretching south for about three miles. Finding the tide make rapidly, and that it might preclude a quick return, we went back to the Moyé river: it was now so deep as to take me up to the middle with a rapid tide, and hardly allowing a footing from the shifting sand; by holding fast by each other a passage was effected with some difficulty. It is nearly six miles to this river from Maung Magan (five miles seven furlongs and three quarters). The arrow-tree lines the beach, and adds by its graceful appearance to the beauty of this solitary scenery.

Got back by ten o'clock, under a hot sun, to Chaup Chén. It is a secluded village, consisting of twenty houses, and a population of one hundred and sixteen souls; the people were civil, but had no idea of our wants. When asked to sell some poultry, the women, who seem here "to wear the (Burman) tartan," archly replied, that we had muskets, and might shoot some,—supposing, perhaps, that this might prove difficult; but when one of my people, taking them at their word, had shot one, they instantly assailed him with a volley of that sort of unqualified abuse which the lower orders of the sex in this country are never loath to bestow when they feel offended. Luckily for these husband-pecking dames, they had not any pretty features to destroy by ill-temper or irritability. Perhaps, and which I believe was the case, they fancied that, like their late masters, we should not pay them for what was taken.

Three Phúngíes, or priests, who had just fixed themselves here, paid me a visit, bringing a cocoanut as a present; they seemed desirous of a permanent government; they were presented with some tea, and dismissed. A small pagoda, perhaps six feet high, had been built in the middle of the village; such a building is gradually enlarged as the people thrive, and in time looks proudly over the forest.

A tame peacock and several white cocks were seen here, and the people said they had been dedicated to the temple.

The grain cultivation here is nearly confined to the upland rice and maize. A man can clear three acres of forest in a year, from which he may expect three hundred baskets of rice; large rats and birds sometimes devour a whole crop; hogs and deer commit

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ravages also. Elephants abound to the northward of Maung Magan, and Chitas, or leopards, and tigers, are occasionally troublesome. The track on this side of the hills is supplied with excellent water, both from wells and springs at the foot of declivities.

The Ava government took from these people a yearly sum, under the name of boat-tax, of about four rupees and a quarter for each house.

The pearl-oyster is found on this part of the coast. A fisherman, on my inquiring of him whether any were procurable, produced a few which he had got from oysters picked up at low water. They were small, but had a good lustre.

Art. X.—*Notes respecting some Indian Fishes, collected, figured, and described, by* Dr. Theodore Cantor, *late Surgeon to the Honourable Company's Marine Survey. Communicated through* Professor Royle.

Read 26th May, 1838.

On a former occasion I had the honour of laying before this learned Society a collection of Molluscs and Zoophytes, from the northern part of the Bay of Bengal; I shall to-day take the liberty of calling their attention to some sketches of fishes from the same locality, and the estuaries of the Ganges, which I had an opportunity of making during my sojourn there, while discharging the medical duties on the Honourable Company's surveying vessels. By reference to the ichthyological works, from different Indian localities, of Dr. Russell, Dr. Hamilton, Baron Cuvier, and Mr. Bennet, it would appear that at least one-third, perhaps one-half, out of upwards of a hundred species, which I examined between Calcutta and the twenty-first degree of north latitude, are not noticed by the above authors. Dr. Hamilton, indeed, in the introduction to his work upon the Gangetic fishes, is of opinion, that while in the rivers above, where the tide reaches, not more than one kind in five has escaped his notice, of those found in the estuaries he has not probably described above a half, a great number of which have been noticed by Dr. Russell. The fact is, I have observed many species, which, inhabiting a more southern latitude, are brought up towards the mouths of the Ganges, by the strong flood-tide prevailing during full moon, while others only temporarily enter the rivers during the spawning season. Thus many fishes, found in abundance by Russell on the Coromandel coast, are very scarce, or not met with towards the northern part of the Bay of Bengal, and of those species from Ceylon, figured and described by Mr. Bennett,[1] I have observed none.

I shall take the liberty, without entering into descriptive and anatomical details, to point out a few of those in my collection which have not been noticed, and which I think characteristic of the northern part of the bay.

Of the Perch family, famed for its excellent qualities as food, one specimen represents a species of the genus Datnia, called by the natives Gung-Bhallíh. Its length does not exceed ten inches;

[1] Fishes of Ceylon.

it is common in the estuaries of the Ganges, even in brackish water, and is said to be no less so on the Tennasserim coast, the Straits of Malacca, and the Persian Gulf. Its flavour is good, but as it is a rather bony fish it is less esteemed as food. When caught the fish emits a hoarse sound, not unlike a faint grunt.

To the genus Polynemus, I shall add a species, called by the natives Sallíah, or Saccolíh. It enters in shoals the mouths of the Ganges, and is equally sought by Europeans and natives for its excellent flavour, which much approaches that of the salmon. I have seen it from three to four feet in length, and eight to ten inches in depth; it appears equally plentiful all the year round, which is also the case with a nearly allied species, the Polynemus quadrifilis of Cuvier.

Of the family Sparoides, a species of Pagrus denominated Cudju-Begtí, is common in the bay, but is seldom met with in the rivers. It is an excellent article of food, in flavour and quality so like the Indian perch, familiar to the residents of India under the name of Begtí, that the natives consider these fishes closely allied. Its size, however, is much smaller than that of the former, for the common length is from ten inches to one foot, and never exceeds one foot and a half. Among the genera forming the Scomberoides, I have observed a greater variety of new species than in any of the others. The Kharrah, or Indian mackerel, a species of Thynnus, is rather uncommon in the estuaries of the Ganges, but is found in abundance on the Burmese coast; from whence great numbers in a dried state are annually imported into Bengal. The largest specimen I saw, measured two feet and a half in length, weighing about four pounds. The flesh of the fresh fish has but little flavour and is rather coarse, but is more esteemed when in a dried or salted state.

Of the Caranx, a single small specimen was caught at the Sand-heads, and appeared unknown to the fishermen.

The genus Equula of Cuvier is very rich in species, which are all characterised by their diminutive size, their pretty shape, and brilliancy of colouring; they appear (with a few exceptions, common under the name of Chandah in the estuaries of the Ganges), to inhabit the southern latitudes, and the Indian Ocean. Of seven species which have come under my observation, none are useful as food; two of the rarer species were invariably found entangled in the arms of a large kind of Medusa.

The cartilaginous fishes abound in number and species, and are remarkable for their wide geographical distribution. The sharks,

by name, enter the rivers to a considerable distance from the sea: not long ago an unfortunate native, while bathing at Serampore, was rescued with the loss of his thigh; and many instances occurred last year where sharks, from five to nine feet in length, were caught in the fishing-nets at Sumatra-sand, opposite Calcutta, which shows that these monsters are not so rare in that part of the river as Dr. Hamilton was led to suppose.

Of the genus Zygæna, the hammerheaded shark, I have met with a species combining all the generic marks, much more strongly developed than in any of the four described species. The breadth of its head is nearly one-half of the total length of the fish, and each of the optic nerves is one-fourth of the total length of the body,—an unparalleled example in the animal kingdom.[1]

The genus Rhinobatus, a beautiful connecting link between the Sharks and the Rays, is never met with at a great distance from the sea: of this I have observed a species, called by the natives Phel-lúah, and of the latter genus two, the Sunkr and the Chillish-Sunkr, all of which, notwithstanding their strong, peculiar scent and flavour, are highly approved of as excellent food by the natives, both in a fresh and dried state. The shark-skin is used by the native workmen for polishing wood and ivory.

Having called the attention of the Society to a few of those fishes which appear to me characteristic of the northern part of the Bay of Bengal, I shall now take a view of some of the known fishes of a wider geographical distribution, such, for instance, as are valued as articles of food, at the three distant points—Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay. Of these the market of Calcutta is least rich in varieties of saltwater-fish, in consequence of its greater distance from the sea. The abundance, however, makes up for what it wants in variety, and the great demand for fish affords a livelihood to a number of fishermen, who every night spread their nets in the river and the saltwater-lake.

The Lates nobilis, different species of Polynemus, and the Mugil corsula, cover daily the tables of European residents, who will more readily recognise those fishes under their vernacular names, as the Begtí, or Cockup, Sudjeh, Topsí (Mangoe fish), and the Indian mullet. Such of the inhabitants of Calcutta as have had an opportunity of spending a short time at the Sandheads, may to this list add a few more of those delicious fishes, which are more familiar to

[1] A Description and Figure of the Zygæna laticeps is published in the third Number of the Quarterly Journal of the Calcutta Medical and Physical Society.

the residents of Madras and Bombay; for instance, the Indian soles, the roll-fish, and, above all, the black and the white pomfrets, and the Bummaloh, which latter in a dried state is known in trade under the name of the Bombay duck. Of these species, to which might be added a greater number of less valued, and consequently less known, saltwater-fishes, none appear to be more widely distributed than the Indian mullet. This is common in the Straits of Malacca, the Bay of Bengal, the Persian Gulf, and the Red Sea; I have found it also one of the most valued fishes of the market at the Cape. The Indian sharks and the Hippocampi (sea-horses), widely spread and of known migratory habits, may occasionally stray from the Indian Ocean; and instances are recorded in which they have been caught on European coasts,—these are exceptions, and upon the whole I have reasons for thinking not one Indian fish is identical with any of those of the European latitudes, and although the Clupanodon ilisha, or Sable Fish, has by many been supposed to be identical with the shad of our seas, to which, as Dr. Hamilton observes, it bears some resemblance; yet from examination of this fish, and comparison with the Clupea alosa, Linn., described by Mr. Yarrell, the eminent ichthyologist,[1] I feel convinced of their non-identity.

The fertility of the Indian soil is such that the mere necessaries of life are nowhere so easily acquired as there. It is well known that the amount of one rupee a month is sufficient, and does administer to the first wants of the great mass of the natives. If we inquire into the ingredients of the daily food of the poorer classes, we find it limited to rice, vegetables, and fish. Animal food is, partly by rule and partly by necessity, chiefly restricted to fishes, which thus, on the coasts and the banks of the great rivers of India, become of higher importance than in any other country. Our knowledge of the Indian freshwater-fishes is limited to the researches of Dr. Hamilton, which chiefly comprised the Ganges and its tributary streams, and his amount was between two and three hundred species. Mr. M'Clelland, in his late mission to Asám to investigate the tea-plant, extended his inquiries to other branches of the natural productions of that country, and the list[2] of his valuable zoological collections, comprise upwards of one hundred and twenty species of fish, from the Brahmaputra, one half of which do not appear in the work of Hamilton upon the Fishes of the Ganges, and belong, in all probability, exclusively to the majestic sister-river. Of those

[1] A History of British Fishes, by W. Yarrell, vol. ii. p. 131.

[2] Quarterly Journal of the Calcutta Med. and Phys. Society, No. III. p. 320.

inhabiting the streams of the peninsula very little is known, the researches of Dr. Russell being more directed to the inhabitants of the Bay of Bengal.

It may, perhaps, not be deemed uninteresting to look at a few of those little fishes, chiefly belonging to the Carp family, which, although unpalatable, and little esteemed by Europeans, form almost "the daily bread" to thousands and thousands of poor natives. Their modes of catching them are all of the simplest description. Such as frequent the banks of the river, for instance the numerous Gobies, are dug out of the mud by the hand, or arrested in a flat basket, which, rapidly skimming the surface, admits a free passage of the water. During irrigation, the rice-fields teem with fishes, and the natives then place across the little streamlets, traps, like bird-cages, made of slips of bamboo, which are emptied as quickly as they are filled. A common mode of fishing is afforded by a conical net, which is from five to six feet in depth, and as many feet in diameter at the wider open part; to the circumference of this is attached a number of little pieces of metal, or stones; the fisherman holds the top or apex of the cone in his right-hand, while the body of the net is collected between the flexure of his elbow and the shoulder; thus armed he wades till the water reaches his waist, when he dexterously throws the net, spreading it to its full extent; while it sinks he gently withdraws it, when the circumference, by its weight, is brought in close contact, and thus prevents the captives from slipping through.

In villages situated on the banks of the river, a number of fishermen supply the bazaars, either by dragging nets of a larger description along the banks, or by setting them in deep water across the streams.

The sea-fishery in Bengal is carried on to a very small extent, chiefly because the distance from the market is too great to allow of the carriage of the fish in a fresh state. The only class of fishermen who are provided with sea-built boats, inhabit villages situated near the entrance of the Hoogly. Their chief and most profitable employment consists in attending with their boats on the shipping entering and leaving the river, for which they receive the pay of sixteen rupees per diem. Whenever this employment fails, they resort to work with their nets, which they drag, during high-water, along the coasts of the Sunderbuns, of which locality they possess a thorough knowledge. Two or three tides are, generally speaking, sufficient to load a boat with fishes and shell-fish. The larger portion of the prize, which is not consumed or otherwise disposed of on

the spot, is then preserved. This process consists simply in dividing the fish, taking out the viscera, and spreading them in the sun till they become sufficiently dried. By repeated excursions I made in a boat of this description, attached to the surveying expedition, I can speak from experience of the truly prodigious quantity brought up in a few hawls.

A mode of fishing, followed by the Honourable Company's ships stationed at the Sandheads, is by a net, similar in form to the above, measuring sixteen feet in length, with a diameter of eight feet at the wider, open part. The net is rigged with two cross-poles: to the lower part of the vertical pole is fixed a piece of ballast-iron, to keep the net in a vertical position below the surface of the sea; the upper part is fixed to a line attached to the main yard, from which the net is lowered over the side of the vessel. An hour is sufficient, with a moderate tide, to arrest a large quantity of fishes of all sizes and descriptions: and a net for this purpose forms part of the inventory, found for the Honourable Company's ships. It must, however, be observed, that this mode of fishing is practicable only within the reach of the tide, and is, under these circumstances, sufficient to procure fresh provisions for the largest ships' companies.

The bazaars in Calcutta are always stocked with an ample supply of dry fish, which is consumed partly by the European and native shipping of that port, partly by the poorer classes of Bengal and the upper provinces. Cargoes of this article are annually imported by the Burmese and the Arabs. As no duty is levied on the importation, I have not been able to ascertain the actual amount, which, however, from the information I have obtained from European and native merchants, appears to be considerable. By examination I found these dried fishes to consist chiefly of the bummalos, a siluroid fish,—which sells in Calcutta, under the name of Bombay duck, at the rate of four or five rupees a hundred,—the Indian mullet, the sudjeh, begtí, and the above-mentioned kharrah, or Indian mackerel. Several specimens of my collection are from the sea-face of the Sunderbuns, where all these and many other serviceable species are found in abundance.

With a view to ascertain how far the locality and climate would favour the process of salting and drying fishes on the coasts of Bengal, Captain Richard Lloyd, who, as Marine Surveyor-General, always has evinced a strong desire to inquire into the natural products, and resources of those localities, which by his indefatigable zeal have been surveyed, caused a series of experiments to that

effect to be tried on board his own vessel. The materials submitted to trial were either purchased from fishermen at the rate of three rupees an hundred, or supplied by the nets belonging to the fishing-boat attached to the survey. The experiments turned out so satisfactorily, that I feel convinced that the process of curing, salting and drying fishes, may easily be accomplished there during the north-east monsoon, that is, during the period from 15th October to the 15th of April. A few details concerning the fishermen and their boats will serve to form an idea of the outlay an attempt of this sort would require. The men are all Hindús, villagers from the banks of the Hoogly, all in comparatively affluent circumstances, and upon the whole a superior description of Indian sailors. They build and rig the boats, and make themselves all the implements out of materials within reach, and of the cheapest description. The boats are, generally speaking, built of Sundry wood, *Heritiera fomes*, Buch, (*H. minor*, Roxb.) of a light make, and of a long, sharp shape, which makes them sail and pull equally easily; in both respects they hold the first rank among native craft. Their decks are like those of the common Dinghies, or river-boats, only they are seldom provided with a roof like the latter, for which is substituted a tarpaulin, affording to them but a sleeping shelter from sun and rain. Every boat is manned by the Manjí, generally the owner and steersman, who commands the crew, consisting of twelve to fourteen Dandies, who ply the paddles or raise the bamboo-mast as circumstances require.

The wages of each man vary from two to four rupees per month, besides the food. The men I have observed to be of much more industrious habits than the rest of the natives; they are seldom seen without some occupation, and their hours of leisure are either spent in mending their nets, or some other handiwork. The fishing-net, calculated to be dragged in shoal water, is made of twine, dyed in a solution of the bark employed by the Indian tanners under the name of Gâb (*Diospyros glutinifera*), and valued from twenty to forty rupees, according to size and materials. These boats, "tow-boats," as they are called, receive from the shipping above mentioned a pay of sixteen rupees per diem; by employing them regularly however, and for a length of time, their services may be had at a much cheaper rate: thus, for instance, the owner of the boat attached to the Survey received ninety rupees per month.

With regard to the salt required, I shall merely state that the sea-face of the Sunderbuns is the very locality where the Honourable Company's workmen are employed in this produce.

The demand for dried fish in Calcutta is always considerable enough to ensure the sale of a supply brought from the immediate vicinity of the market, and for this very reason saleable at a cheaper rate than is possible for that brought from a greater distance. A number of labourers might thus find profitable employment; and the sum annually carried away by the importers of this article, might be circulated amongst the inhabitants of Bengal.[1]

[1] For the scientific names of the Sundry and the Gab trees, I am indebted to the kindness of Dr. Royle. My botanical collection from the Sunderbuns, I handed over to my friend, the eminent botanist, Mr. W. Griffith.

Art. XI.—MR. WATHEN'S TRANSLATION OF ANCIENT INSCRIPTIONS.

No. 5.

Translation of Mr. Munroe's Dánapatra. Dated Saka 1008 (A.D. 1087.)

"Invocation."

1. Stanza in adoration and praise of Mahádéva (Sambu.)

(In 1008 year of the æra of the fortunate most victorious King Sáliváhan, in the year of the cycle called *Kshya,* on the 10th of the bright half of the month *Pausha,* being Sunday, during the Bharani Nakshatra (mansion of the moon), and the northern solstice; the fortunate, the gem of the ocean of all virtues, the protector of devatas and priests, constantly possessing the blessing of the sacred tribe, ornamented with never-failing prosperity, the sun of sovereigns, adored by Rajas, a lion amongst kings, the gratifier of princes, (the valiant in battle, whose throne is on the mountain Parashara),[1] lord of the dominions of the Karnataka, south of the Narmada: Jaya-Sankara Raya has granted a Dánapatra[2] to Sridhara Sarma and Sahasra Sarma, sacrificers and causing sacrifices to be made, lecturers and causing lectures to be read, receivers of alms, and givers of alms (being the six rites), gems among the learned, obedient to the prince, and ornaments to the prince, of the Sutra Aswaláyana, and of the Bharadwaja race, (and to one thousand other Brahmans to this effect):

"the grant."

I bestow the village Powali, as an Agraháram, upon one thousand and two Brahmans, to procure the favour of the Almighty towards my father and mother, who both died at the Nága Tírtha of that village, in presence of the god Iswara, who has a temple there: I appoint Sridhara, Aswaláyana sútra, Bharadwaja gotra, of Toragalla, Jyotishi: Sahasra Sarmá of the same sútra and gotra, Adhyápakas and spiritual chiefs of the village; Ananta Bhat, Viswámitra gotra, Dharmádhikárí: Somanaya Vallabhaga Tirúmalaya, Bharadwaja gotra: Gauri Sankarasaya Bási (?) gotra, Shanbhai: Chamma Saga Mani, Bhárgava gotra: directors general of temporal affairs of the village.

[1] Or the fort of Parashagiri (the present Parasgurh). Tr.—Rather remote from the Nerbudda. H. H. W.

[2] Religious grant.

(The whole land of the village amounts to four thousand and eight mars, which is to be distributed amongst the one thousand and two Brahmans, at the rate of three mars and three quarters for each Brahman, making up the total amount.)

The Agraháram is bounded to the east by Kshetra Páshánam,[1] marking the western boundary of Ache-Muti village; to the south-east, by a stone called Kadgal, forming one of the boundaries of Allegwari; south, by a temple of Basweswara, to the north of Coongole; south-west, by a stone called Nawalapaddi, one of the boundaries of Betsúr; west south-west, by Nagojerí stone and the gate of Sugandhipattan; west, by the tank of Kaddahi Hanumant, near the Mallapahárí; north-west, by the temple of Marutí, on the road to the Nawalatírtha near a hill bordering upon the Mallapahárí; to the north, by the hill Ratnameghala; to the north-north-east, by the temple of Kaluknathananni. All the land included in five coss, described as above, is to be enjoyed by you and your descendants, you propitiating the Deity on behalf of my parents and myself. The Brahman interfering with the property conferred by this grant, is guilty as the murderer of a cow; and the Súdra, as the murderer of his guru.

Farewell! I have deposited in the treasury Nagarharda, or treasure to be bestowed in charity.

This is my mark.

Translated by Mr. MUNROE, late Assistant to Mr. THACKERAY.

No. 6.

Translation of a Sásana in the Halla Canara[2] Language, inscribed on the Walls of a Jaina Pagoda, at Belgaon. Dated Saka 1127 (A.D. 1206.)

"INVOCATION."

May this sovereign's Jaina Sásanapatra (Firman[3]) be prevalent everywhere.

I adore Sasti and Sivabudha Raja, the preserver and supporter of the Jaina religion, who has brought under his rule the Devatas,

[1] Stone pillar.

[2] An ancient Canara language; both the letters and language differ very much from the modern, and very few can read it.

[3] Edict resembling the Firman of the Mohammedan kings.

the cow Kamdhenu, has conquered the three passions; the soul of his disciples, whose breast is of vast comprehension.

In Jambudwipa and Bharata-Khanda,[1] great among all kings, who, conquering all princes, established his throne firmly, such was Sena Rájá; his son was Kártavírya the great, the powerful, possessing every virtue, renowned; his wife was Padmalla-Devi, the beautiful, ornamented with virtues; to her was a son called Lakhsmi-Bhupati; he was to his mother and father as to Sachi and Purindra, Jaiyanta; or to Parwati and Sankara, as Shanmukha, to Lakshmi and Náráyana, as Manmatha (Kamdeva), superior even to these, of higher merit; his wife, Chandala Devi, had two sons, (1.) Kali-Kartavirya and (2.) Malikarjuna, of valour and liberality, &c., famous conquerors of enemies as Dilipa, liberal as Vishnu, valiant as Bhima and Arjuna, and virtuous as Yudhishthira. (It entering into the mind of this Raja to perform that which would render him renowned among those of this world), in full enjoyment of his kingdom, residing at Venigrama,[2] in peace and happiness; he caused to be erected a temple, in which were installed Sri Sánti Nátha Déva,[3] and the protectors of the eight points; for the expenses of the annual festival-offerings, &c., of which temple, he gave, in Saka 1127, Raktakshi Sanvatsar, second Paush Sud, being Wednesday, on the day of the Makara Sankránti,[4] the village of Ambarvanni, situated in Kondím Sasir Pargana, in the Turuf Korwalli, with the eight Adhikáras, with the hidden treasures, mines, water, stones, gardens, for the increase of his kingdom, his descendants, and fame, pouring out water, of his own free will and pleasure, to his family priest, resembling in sanctity a Rishi, a person of sufficient power to perform the ceremonies of installing the Deity, to such Chandra Déva Bhata. The bounds are—north-east, on a hill is a stone; south-east, Nagar Kuttipúra, near the bound of Belgor, a stone; south, Bumnuwar and Kútikwar, bounds under Ingungiri, a stone; south-west, in Kotwar Kurwusi bound a stone; west, Melgúndí Kurwusí bounds a stone, and in the Kendree-wood a stone; north-west, Melgúndí Nalindji bounds a stone; north, on the Chunam-built tower a stone; to west of Sindí Keri and Hurhinkote and Kulhunjike beyond the hamlet, a stone; besides this is given in Kabúr village behind Mudhigun Khundya's house, a house of twenty-one cubits, and near Kalmeswar a house of twenty-one cubits, behind Hargachi Galli twenty cubits a house, Chabakigat

[1] India. [2] Belgam.
[3] Sixteenth Tirthankar of the Jains. [4] Northern solstice.

Nagguna to north of his house, a house of twenty cubits; besides this, gardens in that village; particulars; a garden of Korumbí Bhaire, &c., beyond it a garden, and to the north-east a garden of the temple, to the south a flower-garden. Stones have been erccted for their bounds. Whoevcr will continue this Bastis' Sasana,[1] his race being increased, he and his ministers will reign happily. Whoever disregards and infringes this, being guilty of crime, losing his kingdom, will be afflicted.

"FROM PURANAS."

Two of the customary stanzas.

Done by W. H. WATHEN.

No. 7.

Abstract of an Inscription on a Stone found near the Government House. Dated Saka 1102 (A.D. 1181).

(In the year Saka 1102. In the year of the cycle called Parabhava, the month of Magha, the most famous among princes, the chief of Rajas, the Lord of the country of the Konkana, Sri-mat Aparaditya Déva, reigning most prosperously and victoriously, and by his favour, Bhon-Sri-Soma-Sambhu-Raja-Kalla, being the Pradhan, who holds from ancient times the office of secretary and treasurer; and Ananta-Pai-Prabhu, Pradhan, minister for the affairs of peace and war; these being the ministers. This prince being of ancient descent, and possessing an inscribed seal), for his future happiness and prosperity, (on the Purnima[2] of Magha), having bathed at a sacred place, presenting an Arghya to the sun, and worshipping Mahadeva, (doth grant unto (thc temple), Sri Vaidyanat,ha of Rabhavanti (town), for the constant performance of the five rites of worship, a piece of ground, situated in the Prant of Thadda, in the village of Mandowley, and held by Ananta-Pai-Prabhu;) in which ground there arc the dwellings of twenty-four merchants, the space being measured out, and the taxes of government, &c., being remitted for ever. No one should infringe this grant. Whoever, being incited by avarice, shall bring forward any claims on this orchard, being guilty of the five greater and five lesser crimes, shall suffer torment for ages in the infernal regions.

[1] Jain temples are so called.

[2] Full moon.

No. VII.

स्वस्तिजयश्चाभ्युदयश्च ॥ शकेसंवत् ११०२ पराभवसंवत्सरेमाघेमासि ॥ अद्येहसमस्तराजावलीविराजितमहाराजाधिराजकों
कणचक्रवर्तिश्रीमदपरादित्यदेवकल्याण ॥ विजयराज्येतथैतत्प्रसादात्समस्तराज्यभारचिंतांसमुद्वहतिमहामात्यभोणश्रीसोमशं
भुराजकल्लेश्रीकरणेभांडागारेचप्रथमस्थेपाटीश्रीमहासांधिविग्रहिकश्रीअनंतपैप्रभुहितसंस्थेपाटीश्रीअमुकइत्यादिश्रीकरणेसत्येतस्मि
न्कालेप्रवर्तमानेमहाश्रीमदपरादित्यदेवेनआत्मनःश्रेयोर्थिनासंजातमाघिपर्वणिसुतीर्थेस्नात्वांभगवतेकमलिनीनाथायअर्घंदत्वाभ
गवंतमुमापतिमभ्यर्च्यरभवंतीनाथश्रीवैद्यनाथदेवायपंचोपचारपूजासत्कारार्थंथडमध्येप्रतीतमाडवलीग्रामस्याभ्यंतरवर्तीअनंतपै
प्रभुसतुवाटिकासिद्धायाद्यवांतरप्रवृताधिकारसमस्तविमुक्तिंकृत्वानिमित्तसिद्धायाचतुर्विंशंतिहर्म्यउदकातिसर्गेणप्रदतायचांकतोपि
२ः तदेतस्याःवाटिकायाःपरिपंथिताकेनापिनकरणीया । यःकोपिघातकभाजीदमद्रव्यादिलोभत्वात्निमित्तसिद्धायाधिकारंकरोतिस
पंचभिरपिपातकैरुपपातकैश्चपरिवृत्तोरौरवमहारौरवतमिस्रांधतमिस्रकुंभीपाकादिनरकांश्चिरमनुभविष्यतियतःस्वदत्तांपरदत्तांवा
योहरेत्तवसुंधरां ॥ षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणिविष्ठायांजायतेकृमिः ॥ आरामाणांसहस्रैश्चतडागानांशतैरपि ॥ गवांकोटिप्रदानेनभूमिहर्तान
तुष्यति ॥ २ ॥ चवतुजोकोणहुविपशारनलोपीतव्याश्रीवैद्यनाथदेवायतैलेसकुटुंबिन्त्वापडे ॥ तेहायनायगाढवेकंविजोगोलिखित
मिदंकायस्थतुत्वप्रकृतेनवालिगपंडितेन ॥

No. VIII.

स्वस्तिश्रीशक ११८२ वर्षेरौद्रसंवत्सरे ॥ पौषवदिसप्तमीशनिदिने ॥ अद्येहसमधिगतपंचमहाशब्द ॥ महामंडलेश्वर ॥ कल्याणपुर
वराधीश्वर ॥ कलियुगकर्णान्वयप्रसूत ॥ चालुक्यकुलकमलकलिकाविकासभास्कर ॥ सुवर्णवराहलांछनध्वजसत्यरत्नाकर ॥ शर
णागतवज्रपंजर ॥ महामाहेश्वर ॥ महेश्वरदेवचरणप्रसादनाराधनोपचारादवाप्तपरमराज्येश्व ॥ श्रीकेदारदेवपदपंकजभ्रमर ॥ रा
यधरणीवराहराय ॥ बटकाररिपुरायसाहसमल्लश्रीकांवदेवरायविजयराज्योदै ॥ तद्राज्यभारचालनसमर्थ ॥ आचारनिपुण ॥ सा
ससारविचारचतुर ॥ सकलकलाकुशल ॥ महामात्यमंत्रचूडामणि ॥ श्रीकेशवमहाजनिना ॥ श्रीकांवदेवरायप्रसादलब्ध ॥ तेर
वाटकनामधेयोयंग्रामः ॥ उत्तरायणसंक्रांतिपर्वणि ॥ परमयाभक्त्या ॥ महाधार्मिकेणभूत्वासवृक्षमालाकुलसोपरिकर ॥ दंडदो
षमार्गणसहितचतुःसीमापर्यंतं ॥ निधिनिक्षेपसहितःविंशतिविप्रसहितकेशवप्रभवे ॥ हस्तोदकेनप्रदत्तः ॥ तदर्थशासनंप्रयछति ॥
तेषामेतानिनामानि ॥ झाटसीवारसंबंधिनीशूद्रप्रजोप । जीविनीसमग्राभूमिर्विमलेश्वरदेवस्य ॥ तथादेवस्यसन्निधौयाभूमिः ॥
सा ॥ भारद्वाजगोत्रस्य ॥ माधवदेवस्य ॥ गंधधूपनैवेद्यार्थं ॥ भार्गवगोत्रनागदेवक्रमेत ॥ काश्यपगोत्रविठ्ठलघैशास ॥ भार्गव
गोत्रविठ्ठलघैशास ॥ भारद्वाजगोत्रउकलघैशास ॥ ब्रह्मत्वसहित ॥ गार्ग्यगोत्रगोविंदभट्ट ॥ अत्रिगोत्रसोमदेवभट्ट ॥ वासिष्ठगो
त्रसोमदेवक्रमेत्र ॥ वासिष्ठगोत्रकेशवभट्ट ॥ काश्यपगोत्रमाधवभट्ट ॥ मुद्गलगोत्रवासुदेवभट्ट ॥ वासिष्ठगोत्रपद्मणभट्ट ॥ गार्ग्य
गोत्रमाधवभट्ट ॥ अत्रिगोत्रअच्युतभट्ट ॥ काश्यपगोत्रवामनभट्ट ॥ भारद्वाजगोत्रनारायणभट्ट ॥ भारद्वाजगोत्रनारायणठाकुर
चौधरिकः ॥ सग्रामप्रतिपालकः ॥ भारद्वाजगोत्रहरिदेवभट्ट ॥ भार्गवगोत्रतिकलभट्ट ॥ एवमेतानिनामानि ॥ देवसन्निधौ ॥
ताम्रभाजनपूर्वक ॥ शाश्वतमठं ॥ धर्मकार्यार्थकझाटकवाटिकाचत्वारिंशंकसंख्याजाह्लणराउलसुतगोइराउलस्यदातव्यंग्रामोयम
त्रान्वयेसंभूतराज्ञाअपरेणवाधार्मिकेणभूत्वापालनीयं ॥ यथादानश्रेयसाकुपालकोपिभविष्यति ॥ बहुभिर्वसुधादत्ताराजभिःसग
रादिभिः ॥ यस्ययस्ययदाभूमिस्तस्यतस्यतदाफलं ॥ स्वदत्तांपरदत्तांवायोहरेतवसुंधरां ॥ षष्टिर्वर्षसहस्राणिविष्ठायांजायतेकृमिः ॥
कृमियोनिंततोगत्वाचांडालेष्वभिजायते ॥ हिरण्यमेकंगामेकंभूम्यामप्येकमंगुलं ॥ हरन्नरकमायातियावदाभूतसंप्लवं ॥ नविषंविष
मित्याहुर्ब्रह्मस्वंविषमुच्यते ॥ विषमेकाकिनंहंतिब्रह्मस्वंपुत्रपौत्रकं ॥ मद्वंशजाःपरमहीपतिवंशजावापापादपेतमनसोभुविभूमिपा
लाः ॥ येपालयंतिममधर्ममिमंहिसर्वेतेभ्योमयाविरचितोंजलिरेषमूर्ध्नि ॥ श्रीगोविंदेनविलिखितं ॥ श्रीमंगलमाहेश्वरी ॥

ओम् ॥ नमोविनायकाय ॥ पादन्यासभरातिरेकविनमत्पृथ्वीमिथःसंमिलत्सप्तांभोधिपयःप्रवाहकलनावित्रस्तविश्वत्रयाः ॥ चंच
त्कौतुककंदुकीकृतकुलक्षोणीधरश्रेणयोहेरंबस्यजयंतिदानरभसभ्रांतालयःकेलयः ॥ १ ॥ बिभ्राणस्तुहिनाद्रिमौलिविलसन्नीलाभ्र
लीलांभुवंदंष्ट्राग्रेणजगत्त्रयीमवतुसक्रीडावराहोहरिः ॥ यस्यांगव्यतिषंगिणीप्रसृमरासाक्वापिसप्तार्णवीनव्योन्निद्रतमश्रमांबुकणि
कासंदेहमभ्यस्यति ॥ २ ॥ आस्तेपयोधिप्रतिमोयदूनांवंशःप्रतीतोभुवनत्रयेपि ॥ यदुद्भवैर्भूपतिरत्नजातैरमंडिपृथ्वीमृगलोचनेव ॥
३ ॥ वंशेतस्मिन्नवनिवनितामौलिनेपथ्यरत्नंजातःशीतद्युतिसितयशाभिल्लमःक्षोणिपालः ॥ अर्थिश्रेणीसुरविटपिनोयस्यविद्वेषि
भूपाशोणश्रीकंपदकिसलयंनित्यमुत्तंसयंति ॥ ४ ॥ दिवंगतेतत्रचरित्रधाम्निमहीमहींद्रेगुणरत्नसिंधौ ॥ अनंतरंभूवजयैकजैत्रःश्रीजैत्र
पालोनृपतिर्बभूव ॥ ५ ॥ नम्रक्ष्मापालचूडानणुमणिकिरणोदारकासारवीचीक्रोडक्रीडत्पदाब्जःप्रथितयदुकुलांभोधिनीहारभानुः ॥
तत्पुत्रोऽथप्रतापद्युमणिरुचिचयाचांतविद्वेषियोषिच्चक्षुश्चंचद्विलासांजनतिमिरभरःसिंघणोभून्नरेंद्रः ॥ ६ ॥ प्रत्यर्थिपार्थिववधूनय
नांबुपूरैःसंसिच्यमानइवयादवराजवंशः ॥ अत्युंनतिंकलयतिस्मजगत्प्रवीरेयस्मिन्भुजोष्मभरशालिनिशासतिक्ष्मां ॥ ७ ॥ भिन्नवै
रिकरिकुंभमौक्तिकैःसंततंरणभुवंविभूषयन् ॥ सिंहइत्युदितविक्रमःस्वयंयश्चकारनिजनामसार्थकं ॥ ८ ॥ गतेत्रिदशसुंदरीपरिचल
त्कटाक्षच्छटाविलासरसपात्रतांमहतितत्रपृथ्वीपतौ ॥ अनंगरिपुशेखरस्फुरदमंदमंदाकिनीपवित्रचरितःक्षितेरजनिजैत्रपालःपतिः
॥ ९ ॥ अजनिविजयलक्ष्मीविद्युदुल्लासलीलाविलसदसिपयोदःक्षोणिपालोऽकृष्णः ॥ मुकुलयतिविचित्रंयस्यदृप्यत्प्रतापद्युमणि
ररिनृपाणांपाणिपंकेरुहाणि ॥ १० ॥ कुंभीद्रारवगीतिभिःप्रसृमरैर्निःसाणवाद्यस्वनैर्यन्निस्त्रिंशलतारणांगणमहारंगेनटत्युद्यतं ॥
एतच्चित्रमरातिपक्ष्मलदृशांधम्मिल्लतोमल्लिकाभ्रश्यंत्याकुलकंठकंदलतलात्त्रुट्यंतिहारस्रजः ॥ ११ ॥ शरदमलमरीचिश्रीसपत्नैर्य
शोभिर्धवलितनिखिलाशाचक्रवालोनृपालः ॥ नृपकुलकमलौघध्वंसनीहारपातस्तदनुतदनुजन्माश्रीमहादेवआसीत् ॥ १२ ॥ उन्मी
लद्यदुवंशमौक्तिकमणिःक्षोणींद्रनारायणःपृथ्वीपालपितामहोनिजभुजप्राकारभीमोदयः ॥ खेलन्मालवमेदिनीपरिवृढप्रौढेभपंचा
ननःसूनुःकृष्णमहीपतेर्विजयतेश्रीरामचंद्रोनृपः ॥ १३ ॥ बभ्रामनक्वापिभृशंचलापिचिरंभुजेयस्यकृताधिवासा ॥ केयूरचंद्रांकुर
कोटिभिन्नपदारविंदेवसदाजयश्रीः ॥ १४ ॥ स्वस्तिश्रीशालिवाहनशके १२१२ विरोधिसंवत्सरेवैशाखशुद्धपौर्णमास्यांभौमे ॥ अद्येह
द्वारवतीपुरवराधीश्वरयादवकुलकमलकलिकाविकासभास्कररायनारायणइत्यादिकसमस्तराजावलीसमलंकृतमहाराजाधिराजप्रौ
ढप्रतापचक्रवर्तीश्रीरामचंद्रदेवविजयोदयेतत्पादपद्मोपजीविनिमहामात्येएकदेवपंडितेकोशाधिपतौचांगदेवेइत्यादिआकारणादिषुए

तस्मिन्कालेप्रवर्तमानेसति ॥ आसीद्भरद्वाजकुलप्रदीपःश्रीपद्मनाभःपृथिवीदिवौकाः ॥ आचारविद्याविनयैर्धरित्र्यांयेनार्जितःसिं
घणभूमिपालः ॥ १ ॥ तस्मादभूत्सूर्यइवोदयाद्रेःश्रीवामिदेवःकलिकल्पवृक्षः ॥ यद्दानमासाद्यकवींद्रसंघैरासादिताभूपतिभोग्यभो
गाः ॥ २ ॥ तस्मादाविरभूदधोक्षजइवश्रीशूरसेनात्मजात्क्षीरोदादिवचंद्रमागिरिसुतानाथादिवक्रौंचभित् ॥ विष्णोर्नाभिसरोरुहा
दिवविधीरामोरघूणांकुलात्श्रीकृष्णःकरवालखंडितरिपुक्ष्मापालमुंडांबुजः ॥ ३ ॥ स्थितिंधत्तेलक्ष्मीर्वपुषिवदनेशीतकिरणःसुधा
नेत्रेपाणौसुरतरुरुदग्रंरुषिविषं ॥ भुजेशौर्यंकृष्णक्षितिपतिलकस्यस्फुटममुंविनिर्मातुंमन्येजलधिरमरैरेषमथितः ॥ ४ ॥ सत्कीर्त्ये
कनिधिःप्रनीतिरचनाचातुर्यमुद्रावधिःकांत्याकामकलेवरप्रतिनिधिर्गांभीर्ययायोनिधिः ॥ प्रालेयांशुविशुद्धभूरिगुणधीवृत्तेस्त्वयंस
द्विधिर्जीयाकृष्णकलानिधिःपृथुकृपापीयूषवारांनिधिः ॥ ५ ॥ श्रीरामानुज्ञयासकलकोंकणधरामंडलमनुशासताश्रीकृष्णदेवेन ॥
श्रीरामचंद्रदेवस्यआयुरारोग्यऐश्वर्याभिवृध्यर्थंचत्वारिंशत्संख्येभ्यःनानाशाखाध्यायिभ्यःनानागोत्रेभ्योब्राह्मणेभ्यः ॥ खाजणवराडी
संबंधअणजोरग्रामःपल्लीसहितःससीमापर्यंतःतृणकाष्ठोदकोपेतःसवृक्षमालाकुलःनिधिनिक्षेपसहितःचतुराघाटोपेतःहिरण्योदकपू
र्वकंप्रदत्तःपूर्वतोनदीदक्षिणतोपिनदीपश्चिमतोपिनदीउत्तरतश्चेलिंग्रामःइमानिचतुराघाटकानितएतेब्राह्मणाःदामोदराग्निहोत्रीम
हालूभट्टस्यपुत्रःकाश्यपगोत्रीएकः १ अपरेएकोनचत्वारिंशत्संख्याकाःएतेचत्वारिंशद्ब्राह्मणाः ॥ तदेतेषांसान्वयबंधुभिःभुंजतांभुंजाप
यतां ॥ केनापिपरिपंथानकार्यः ॥ उक्तंचमुनिभिः ॥ बहुभिर्वसुधाभुक्ताराजभिःसगरादिभिः ॥ यस्ययस्ययदाभूमिस्तस्यतस्यत
दाफलं ॥ १ ॥ साक्षाद्दानंनिरायासंसायासंदीर्घपालनं ॥ अतएवर्षयःप्राहुर्दानाद्भूयोनुपालनं ॥ २ ॥ दत्वाभूमिंभाविनःपार्थिवेंद्रा
न्भूयोभूयोयाचतेरामभद्रः ॥ सामान्योयंधर्मसेतुर्नृपाणांकालेकालेपालनीयोभवद्भिः ॥ ३ ॥ इहहिजलदलीलाचंचलेजीवलो
केतृणमिवलघुसारेसर्वसंसारसौख्ये ॥ अपहरतुदुराशःशासनंब्रह्मणानांनरकगहनगर्तावर्तपातोत्सुकोयः ॥ ४ ॥ अग्नेरपत्यंप्रथ
मंसुवर्णंभूर्वैष्णवीसूर्यसुताश्चगावः ॥ लोकत्रयंतेनभवेद्धिदत्तंयःकांचनंगांचमहींचदद्यात् ॥ ५ ॥ यावंतिसस्यमूलानिगोरोमाणि
चसर्वशः ॥ नरस्तावंतिवर्षाणिसूर्यलोकेमहीयते ॥ ६ ॥ आस्फोटयंतिपितरःप्रवलांतिपितामहाः ॥ भूमिदोस्मत्कुलेजातःस्वकु
लंतारयिष्यति ॥ ७ ॥ स्वदत्तांपरदत्तांवायोहरेत्तुवसुंधरां ॥ विष्ठायांसकृमिर्भूत्वापितृभिःसहमज्जति ॥ ८ ॥ श्रीकान्हरदेवानुज्ञ
यालिखितंपंडितमाधवेनन्यूनाक्षरमधिकाक्षरंतत्सर्वंप्रमाणमिति ॥ मंगलमहाश्रीः ॥

No. X.

ओम् ॥ स्वस्तिश्रीशालिवाहनशके ११९४ अंगिरानामसंवत्सरेआश्विनशुद्ध ५ रवौग्रामशासनसंमतिःलिख्यते ॥ यथा ॥ पादन्यासभरातिरेकविनमत्पृथ्वीमिथःसंमिलत्सप्तांभोधिपयःप्रवाहकलनाविचस्तविश्वत्रयाः ॥ चंचत्कौतुककंदुकीकृतकुलक्षोणीधरश्रेणयो हेरंबस्यजयंतिदानरभसभ्रांतालयःकेलयः ॥१॥ बिभ्राणस्तुहिनाद्रिमौलिविलसन्नीलाभ्रलीलांभुवंदंष्ट्राग्रेणजगत्त्रयीमवतुसक्रीडावराहोहरिः ॥ यस्यांगव्यतिषंगिणीप्रसृमरासाक्वापिसप्तार्णवीनव्योन्निद्रतमश्रमांबुकणिकासंदेहमभ्यस्यति ॥२॥ आस्तेपयोधिप्रतिमोयदूनांवंशःप्रतीतोभुवनत्रयेपि ॥ यदुद्भवैर्भूपतिरत्नजातैरमंडिपृथ्वीमृगलोचनेव ॥३॥ वंशेतस्मिन्नवनिवनितामौलिनेपथ्यरत्नंजातः शातद्युतिसितयशाभिल्लमःक्षोणिपालः ॥ अर्थिश्रेणीसुरविटपिनोयस्यविद्वेषिभूपाःशोणश्रीकंपदकिसलयंनित्यमुत्तंसयंति ॥४॥ दिवंगतेतत्रचरित्रधाम्निमहीमहींद्रेगुणरत्नसिंधौ ॥ अनंतरंभूवलयैकजैत्रःश्रीजैत्रपालोनृपतिर्बभूव ॥५॥ नम्रक्ष्मापालचूडानणुमणिकिरणोदारकासारविचित्रक्रोडक्रीडत्पदाब्जःप्रथितयदुकुलांभोधिनीहारभानुः ॥ तत्पुत्रोथप्रतापद्युमणिरुचिचयाचांतविद्वेषियोषित्चक्षुश्चंचद्विलासांजनतिमिरभरःसिंघणोभून्नरेंद्रः ॥ ६ ॥ दिग्याचारंभधावत्तुरगचयचमूचक्रजाग्रत्सुराग्रश्रेणीसंघट्टपिष्टक्षितिधरनिकरोद्भूतधूलीवितानैः ॥ संप्राप्तेषुप्रकामंजलधिषुविपदंसंगराङ्गंगभाजांयस्मिन्नास्तीहरुष्टेस्ततिरवनिभृतांनस्थलेनोजलेपि ॥७॥ अजनिविजयलक्ष्मीविद्युदुल्लासलीलाविलसदसिपयोदःक्षोणिपालोथकृष्णः ॥ मुकुलयतिविचित्रंयस्यदृप्यत्प्रतापद्युमणिररिनृपाणांपाणिपंकेरुहाणि ॥८॥ कुंभींद्रारवगीतिभिःप्रसृमरैर्निःस्वानवाद्यस्वनैर्यंनिस्त्रिंशलतारणांगणमहारंगेनटत्युद्भटं ॥ एतच्चित्रमरातिपक्ष्मलदृशांधम्मिल्लतोमल्लिकाभ्रश्यंत्याकुलकंठकंदलतलात्त्रुट्यंतिहारस्रजः ॥ ९ ॥ मखसंप्रीणितैरिंद्रपदायमरुतांगणैः ॥ समाहूतइवक्ष्मापःसप्रापसुरमंदिरं ॥ १० ॥ शरदमलमरीचिश्रीसपक्षैर्यशोभिर्धवलितनिखिलाशाचक्रवालोनृपालः ॥ नृपकुलकमलौघध्वंसनीहारपातस्तदनुतदनुजन्माश्रीमहादेवआसीत् ॥ ११ ॥ यस्योदारयशस्तुषारमहसिप्राप्तोदयेसंततंशीतांशूपलमंडलायितमरिस्त्रीलोचनश्रेणिभिः ॥ चेतोभिःकुमुदायितंचजगतांध्वांतायितंचार्थिनांदारिद्र्येणसमंततःसुकविभिश्चंचच्चकोरायितं ॥१२॥ विजित्यपाथोनिधिमेखलायास्तलंधरित्र्यानिखिलंसभूपः ॥ क्रमेणसुत्रामजिगीषयेवस्वर्गप्रयाणाभिमुखोबभूव ॥ १३ ॥ उन्मीलद्यदुवंशमौक्तिकमणिःक्षोणींद्रनारायणःपृथ्वीपालपितामहोनिजभुजप्राकारभीमोदयः ॥ खेलन्मालवमेदिनीपरिवृढ

प्रौढेभपंचाननःसूनुःकृष्णमहीपतेर्विजयतेश्रीरामचंद्रोनृपः ॥ १४ ॥ सुरगिरिमधिरूढेपूर्वदिक्पर्वताभंकलितदिनकरश्रीसुंदरेयत्र दिक्षु ॥ किरतिकरसमृद्धिस्पर्धिनींबाणपंक्तिंप्रतिबलतिमिरौघःकांदिशीकोनकोभूत् ॥ १५ ॥ अथखरतरप्रतापतनुशोषितारातिनिरेशयशःपल्वलः ॥ विमलनिजगुणमौक्तिकमणिश्रेणिसमलंकृतदिगंगनावलयः ॥ १६ ॥ प्रौढरिपूरःकपाटयानप्रकटितनृसिंहडंबरः ॥ शंबरमथनतरलनयनांचलचंचरीकचुंबितमुखांबुजः ॥ १७ ॥ स्वभुजसमुपार्जितैकांगवीराभिधानसकलगुणनिधानरिपुदनुजवीरनारायणः ॥ रायनारायणनिजायुरवधीरितपितामहरायपितामहः ॥ द्वारवतीपरिवृढः ॥ गुर्जरकुंजरदलनकंठीरवः ॥ तेलिंगतुंगतरून्मूलनमत्तदंतावलः ॥ मालवप्रदीपशमनप्रलयानिलः ॥ दानवगुणाल्पितकल्पमहीरुहः ॥ इत्यादिसमस्तविरुदावलीविराजमानेसकलभूवलयमनुशासतियदुकुलकुमुदचंद्रेश्रीरामचंद्रेनरेंद्रे ॥ तयैतत्प्रसादावाप्तनिखिलराज्यधुरीणतांवहतिसमस्तहस्तिपकाध्यक्षेनिजगुणसुभगभावुकेभावुकेसमस्तकरणाधिपत्यमंगीकुर्वाणेचनिर्जितझाडिमंडलेमंत्रिचूडामणौगुणरत्नरोहणाद्रौहेमाद्रौ ॥ श्रीमद्गौतमगोत्रमंडनमणिःश्रीजल्हणःपूर्वजःसर्वीयोद्विजपुंगवस्तदनुचप्रेंखद्गुणोमूधुगिः ॥ सत्सूनुःश्रुतिशास्त्रशस्त्रकुशलस्तस्यांगजःसद्गुणःश्रीमानच्युतनायकःसमजनिश्रीरामचंद्रोदयी ॥ १ ॥ यस्मिन्नच्युतनायकेविरचितेप्रौढप्रतापेवरेलावण्यैकसिभूरिदातरिधराभारक्षमेवेधसा ॥ सूर्यःकिंघटितःकिमेषविहितश्चंद्रःसमुत्पादितश्चिंतारत्नमहोमुधैवकिममीसृष्टाःकुलक्ष्माभृतः ॥ २ ॥ यश्चमंडलीकपितामहः ॥ मंडलीकभारसंखरुः ॥ मंडलीकधाडीतडकः ॥ पश्चिमरायविभाडहेबिरुदआहे ॥ तेनश्रीरामतोषाहितनिजपदवींभुंजताकौंकणेस्मिन्द्वात्रिंशद्ब्राह्मणेभ्योनवनिधिसहितोदायिवौलाभिधानः ॥ ग्रामस्वीयाष्टसीमावधिवरविधिनासासटेर्मध्यभागेभोक्तव्यःस्वैरमेतैर्द्विजवरवृषभैराशिषोस्मैददद्भिः ॥ तस्यआघाटाः ॥ पूर्वतोदेवश्रीकामेश्वरग्रामःदक्षिणतःशीतलेश्वरःपश्चिमतोदेवश्रीखोपेश्वरपल्लीसांभवजाउत्तरतःसांभवजनदीएवंचतुराघाटाःस्वसीमापर्यंतस्तृणकाष्ठोदकोपेतःसवृक्षमालाकुलःखारीवोरवेढीसहितोवौलाभिधानोग्रामःश्रीअच्युतनायकेनद्वात्रिंशद्ब्राह्मणेभ्योदत्तःतेचब्राह्मणाःगार्ग्यगोत्रीयःविष्णुदीक्षितभानुसुतवंटकःएकः १ अपरेएकत्रिंशत्संख्याकाःएवंब्राह्मणाःश्रीलक्ष्मीनारायणायद्वात्रिंशद्ब्राह्मणैःवंटकेष्वेकःप्रदत्तः ॥

N. B.—The latter part of this inscription appears to be in an ancient dialect of Marratti, but is almost unintelligible. It refers to the sculpture for a curse on the violator of the grant: the allusion is too gross to be mentioned.

Done by W. H. Wathen.

No. 8.

Translation of an Inscription transmitted from the Concan, by Captain Jervis, &c. Dated Saka 1182, *or* (A.D. 1261) *Five Hundred and Sixty-five Years anterior to the present Time.*

Swasti Sri! Saka 1182, the year of the cycle being called Roudra, seventh of the dark half of the moon of Pousha, Saturday.

He who hath the title of the five great words, such as Raja, lord of the whole universe, residing at the city of Kalyana,[1] charitable as Karna, in this Kali-Yuga of the Chalukia race, who hath for his ensign the Golden Varáha (boar) as the ocean true, a worshipper of the sublime Mahadeva, by the blessing of which deity he hath acquired a vast empire; such Sri-Kambha-Deva Rájá being sovereign, during whose government constant conquest prevails, and there existing one of sufficient power to conduct the affairs of the great king; such person being Sri-Kesava Mahajanni Mantri,[2] who, by favour of this Sri-Kambha Deva, had acquired the village of Terwatta; such village this Sri-Kesava did, on the great occasion of the sun's northern declination, having made great prayer and devotion, having removed all demands and claims, grant, with all its produce in charity, unto one Kesava Prabhu, Brahman, and twenty other priests, with water poured out on their hands.

Having had this Dana-patra made out, underneath the names of these Brahmans are written.

"Here follow their names."

A place called Jataka Sivara is given to Vimala Eswara deity, and the land lying near, is granted to Madhava Deva of the Bharadwaja race, for sacrifice-service and offerings.

The copper vessels and house near the temple, are given to Brahmans for holy purposes.

[1] Probably Callian in the Concan. [2] Minister.

Four orchards called Kajataka, are given, for the holy purposes of the deity, to Jhalana Ravula's son Joe' Ravul.

This grant the Rájás of this country of my race, and of others, must respect.

Quotations from the Puránas follow.

The resumer of this grant, on emerging from hell, will again become incarnated in the accursed shape of a Chandála!

I bow to future Rájás, and pray them to preserve this my sacred grant! Written by Sri Govinda Mangala Maha Sri.

W. H. WATHEN.

No. 9.

Translation of a Sanskrit Inscription on Three Copper Plates, found near Thanna in Salsette. Dated (1291[1] A.D.) *Saka* 1212. *Sent by Mr. Baillie.*

60. Om! adoration to Ganésá!

"INVOCATION."

1. "The first Sloka is in praise of Sri-Ganesa,[2] the manner and astonishing effects of whose dancing are therein described.

2. "The next Sloka contains an invocation to the Varáha Avatár,[3] relating the wonderful miracles performed[4] by that incarnation of Vishnu."

"STANZAS."

1. The Yadu race, resembling the ocean, is alone renowned in the three worlds; by the sovereigns, a collection of gems, produced from this race, the earth, as a beautiful woman, became ornamented.

2. In that family, like as a jewel on the head of a beautiful woman, even so Bhilama-Rájá, whose fame is as the light of the moon, was produced: a heavenly tree to the crowd of supplicants, whose enemies placed his delicate feet, resembling the fresh rose-coloured leaves (of the Ashoka-tree[5]) on their heads as a wreath of flowers.

[1] Edward the First of England reigned: Baliol and Bruce's competition.

[2] The deity of wisdom.

[3] The incarnation of Vishnu in a wild boar.

[4] Tho supporting the globe, &c.

[5] Or perhaps the mangoe.

3. This asylum of renown, who was as an Indra on this earth; from whom virtues were produced as gems from the sea, having ascended to the abodes of bliss; Sri-Jaitra-pála, a unique conqueror in this world, reigned.

4. His son Singhana succeeded him, rising as a moon from the transparent ocean of the Yadu race, whose feet, as lotuses, waved over the shining gems of his enemies' diadems resembling the brilliancy of the agitated waters of a lake.

5. His dignity (or glory) was as a sun whose splendour dissolved the shining antimony[1] from the eyes of the consorts of his enemies, resembling the darkness of night.

6. Such a Rájá, the most famous warrior in the world, whose arms shone with strength, being governor of the universe; the royal Yadu race as a Vansha-tree[2], watered by the torrent of tears flowing from the eyes[3] of the wives of its enemies, attained an amazing height.

7. Who, being valiant, was on this earth as a lion, splitting in pieces the skulls of his enemies resembling elephants, causing the field of battle to glitter with the pearls[4] falling from their brains; thus, by his own valour rendered his appellation (of Lion-slayer[5]) justly applicable to himself.

8. This sovereign having ascended to the mansions of beatitude, Sri-Jaitra-pála became king, from whom virtuous actions flowed, as the pure Ganges from the braided-hair of Mahadéva.

9. Then Krishna ascended the throne, whose victories were rapid as lightning, among which his waving sword shone as lightning[6] in a cloud, whose wonderful majesty was as the (morning) sun, which miraculously[7] caused his foes to close their lotus-like hands (in supplication).

10. His sword when it danced, did so wonderfully in the field of battle, resembling a hall of dancers, to the music caused by the roaring of elephants and the cries of mighty enemies; when, strange to relate, the flowers[8] fell from the braided-hair of his enemies'

[1] On the death of their husbands the antimony is supposed to be dissolved, and melted away by the tears flowing from their eyes.

[2] This is a play on the word Vansha, meaning both a race or family, and also the bamboo-tree.

[3] On account of the slaughter of their lords.

[4] Pearls are supposed to be formed in the brain of elephants.

[5] Singhana, the destroying lion, or destroyer of lions.

[6] Or a cloud illuminated by lightning playing on it.

[7] The morning sun causes the lotus-flower to expand, whence the miracle.

[8] When Hindú women become widows, they must cast off all ornaments.

consorts, and the necklaces dropped broken to the ground from the persons of these unfortunates.

11. Subsequently his younger brother, Sri-Mahadéva, was sovereign, whose fame was brighter than the moon-shine[1] in the cold season, which illuminated all the quarters of the world. He was the protector of mankind, and as a sharp frost for the destruction of a multitude of princes, resembling lotuses.

12. Sri Ramchandra Rájá, the son of Sri Krishna, is at present most celebrated. A precious[2] pearl among the Yadu race; with sovereigns of the world he is a Náráyana (Vishnu), among protectors of the world he is a Brahmá. His arms are as the towers[3] of a fort. (He is dreaded by all such as are his foes; as a lion, by the independent rulers of Málava, resembling huge elephants).

13. The auspicious Goddess of Victory, though she be so extremely inconstant, yet never wandered from this prince, remaining always attached to his arm,—her foot being injured by the edge of the bracelet on his wrist, resembling a segment of the moon.

"DATE OF THE GRANT."

(In the fortunate year of Saliváhana, Saka 1212, called Virodh Vaisakha Shud Purnima, fifteenth (of the bright moon of Vaisakha), being Tuesday, A.D. 1291).

"TITLES OF THE KING UNDER WHOSE AUSPICES THE GRANT WAS MADE," viz.:

At the present moment the lord of the city of Dwáravati-pura, (Dwarka?) as a sun causing the Yadu family, resembling lotus-blossoms, to flower.

Rájá Náráyana,[4] &c., adorned with many such royal titles, Maharájádhiraja (emperor) of exceeding majesty, lord of the whole globe. At the period of this Sri Ramchandra-Déva's being victorious, the protected (or supported) by his (Sri Ramchandra's) feet resembling lotuses,[5] Ekadéva Pandita, being Maha Amatya (prime minister),

[1] The moon is supposed by the Hindús to shine brighter in the cold season than in any other.

[2] In the original, large.

[3] Or walls.

[4] These are all the Emperor Ramchandra-Deva's titles.

[5] An Oriental phrase, used by any dependant when speaking of, or addressing, his superior.

who is also entitled the Koshádhipati (high treasurer), Changdeva, &c. At such an opportune time one Krishna (whose descent was as follows):

"STANZAS."

"DESCRIPTION OF THE FAMILY OF THE IMMEDIATE DONOR, A PROVINCIAL GOVERNOR."

1. There was a Brahman of the name of Sri Padmanábha, as the lamp of the Bhardawája race: by good conduct, science, and humility, he acquired for himself the favour of King Singhana, when in this world.

2. From him rose a son named Sri Bámideva, as the sun from the eastern mountains,[1] who was as a tree of abundance in this Kali[2] age, from the receipt of whose gifts famous poets enjoyed themselves as kings.

3. From this person sprung a son, Sri Krishna, like Adhokshaja (Krishna) from Sri Surasena's[3] son,—as the full moon from the sea of milk,—as from Parvati's lord, Kartikeya,—as Brahmá from the lotus, from the navel of Vishnu,—as Ráma from the Raghu family, who hath struck off with his sword the lotus-like heads of inimical Rajas.

4. I verily believe (says the poet) the gods churned the ocean solely for the sake of producing this Krishna, the chief ornament of princes; for on his body Lakshmi is ever stationary. His face being the residence of the moon; Amrita[4] in his eyes,—in his hands the tree of abundant generosity,[5]—in his anger is poison; heroism in his arms.

5. The only mine of real fame. The most complete politician and perfect sage, whose person is beautiful, the resemblance of that of Kámadeva;[6] in depth of thought and reflection, unfathomable as the ocean; his mind is chaste and pure as the moon; the instructor in the rules of good conduct, the source of all useful inventions.

[1] The sun is supposed to rise from the Udayachal mountains, meaning here any eastern hills, whence the sun appears to rise.

[2] Iron.

[3] A kshetriya king, whose son was Vasudéva, whose son was Krishna the Avatár.

[4] The water of life.

[5] A fabulous tree in Hindú mythology, which yields whatever is required of it.

[6] Cupid, or the god of love.

"THE ACTUAL GRANT."

Under the orders of Sri Ráma (the Rájá called before Ramchandra), this Sri Krishna-Déva governs the whole province of the Konkana. For the sake of causing the prolongation of Sri Ramchandra-Déva's life, for his preservation in good health, and for the increasing of his wealth and riches, he giveth to Brahmans, forty in number, readers of many branches (of the Vedas), and of various descent, with gold[1] and water, the village of Anjora,[2] in the district of Khajana Warrari, together with its hamlets limited to its proper bounds, with its grass, timber, water, and forest-trees, mines and hidden treasures, together with the landmarks. To the east, a river; to the south, a river; to the west, a river; to the north, Veling, a village. These are the four marks of the village boundary.

"GRANTEES."

These are the afore-mentioned Brahmans.

Here follow the names of the forty Brahmans.

While they and their lineal and collateral heirs are enjoying this land, or causing it to be enjoyed, let no one oppose them, since the Munis have declared——

"STANZAS."

Here follow the same Slokas as in the translations of the other inscriptions, in the first volume of the Asiatic Researches,[3] taken from the Dharma Anushásan, &c.

Then follow

"STANZAS."

4. The living beings of this world are unstable as clouds,—the pleasures of this world are perishable as grass. Let the wretch who is desirous of falling into the bottomless-pit of hell, destroy this grant of land to holy priests!

5. Whoever[4] maketh a gift of gold, a cow, and earth; such person hath certainly made a donation of the three worlds, for gold was the first offspring of fire, the earth is Vishnu's, and the cows are the daughters of the sun.

[1] Or confirmed by the gift, also, of gold and water.

[2] Said to be situated in Khandesh.

[3] Viz. three stanzas:—1st. "Sagar, and many other kings," &c., p. 365. 2d. "A speedy gift," &c., p. 365. 3d. "Ram hath required," &c., p. 127.

[4] The third stanza of the first volume of the Asiatic Researches, p. 362, is nearly the same, word for word, as this.

6. Such a person will enjoy beatitude in the sun's[1] heaven,[2] as many years as there may be roots of grain (in such land); and as there are hairs on (the body of) such cattle.

7. His[3] deceased fathers clap their hands! His grandfathers exult, saying, "In our family is born a donor of land, who will redeem his family!"

8. He who resumeth land given by himself, or by another, having become a worm, will sink with his ancestors into hell!

"NAME OF THE WRITER."

Mádhava Pandita has written this by order of Sri Kankara Déva; notwithstanding there may be a letter more or less, still this is a complete document.

Mangala Maha Sri!!
The auspicious Lakshmi!!

No. 10.

Translation of an Inscription found near Thanna. Dated (A.D. 1273,[4]) *Saka* 1194.

Adoration to Ganesa!

"DATE AND PURPORT OF THE GRANT."

In the auspicious year of Sri Sáliváhan 1194 (or A.D. 1272), being the year[5] called Angira, fifth Aswina shud,[6] the day being Sunday, an edict[7] is drawn up relative to a village.

Thus:—

"INVOCATION."

Here follow the same two verses as in No. 9, being invocations to Ganesa, and the Varáha-Avatár.[8]

[1] Surya Loka.
[2] Or orbit.
[3] See stanza the fifth.
[4] Edward the First of England reigned.
[5] Of the sexagenary cycle (Sumvatsar.)
[6] The fifth of the bright half of Aswin.
[7] Sásana.
[8] Incarnation of Vishnu in a wild boar.

"DESCRIPTION OF THE ORIGIN AND DESCENT OF THE DONOR, OR RAJA, UNDER WHOSE AUSPICES THE GRANT WAS MADE."

Then the same four stanzas as in the other, describing Bhilama Rájá, the founder of the Rájá's family, and his successor, Jaitrapál, down to Rájá Singhana's accession.

The following stanzas are not in the other inscription, viz.:—

"STANZA."

Then Singhana, lord of men, succeeded to the throne.

5. His power was such, that on his going out to the conquest of the various quarters of the world, the multitude of his horsemen and followers was so exceeding great, that by the pressure of their horses' hoofs, and by that of the feet of the footmen, mountains became crushed to pieces; such clouds of dust arose from their trampling as filled the heavens with darkness, which falling into the ocean caused its water to become a mass of mire; there then remained no place for his enemies to fly to for refuge, neither on earth, nor in the ocean.

Here follow the same two slokas,[1] as in the other inscription, containing praise of Sri-Krishna Rájá.

The following stanzas and epithets are not in the other.

"STANZAS."

Sri-Krishna's youngest brother, Sri-Mahadéva, next ruled the world.

8. Whose mighty fame was as a moon. On the appearance of which tears flowed from the eyes of the wives of his enemies, as water from the Chandrakánta-Mani.[2] By his benign influence, as darkness vanisheth on the appearance of the moon,—even thus the poverty of the poor disappeared. As the Chakora[3] bird is delighted on beholding the moon, even so were poets rejoiced at the sight of this monarch.

9. Having conquered the whole ocean-girt world, and having become sovereign of the entire globe, did he leave it to conquer[4] Indra.

[1] Stanzas.

[2] A fabulous gem, from which the moonbeams cause water to flow.

[3] This is a bird fabulously said to subsist on moonbeams.

[4] He died.

9. At the present moment the son of Sri-Krishna, the most exalted lord of men, Sri-Rámchandra, conquers.

10. Who, as the sun, rising from the eastern mountains, dispels darkness by its bright rays, even thus mounted on (his elephant resembling) Surgir,[1] casting arrows on every side, he dispersed the army of his enemies resembling night. At such time who withstood his attacks?

"REMOTE DONOR'S EPITHETS AND TITLES," &c.

Whose resplendent glory is as a sun, whose rays absorb the fame of his enemies, resembling a pool of water.

His pure virtues resemble pearl-necklaces, by which the four quarters of the world, as so many fair women, become adorned.

He appears as a Narasinha,[2] splitting open the wall-like breasts of his enemies.

The very inconstant eyes of Madana (Kámdéva[3]) as bees, kiss his lotus-like cheeks.

He hath acquired by the strength of his own arms the title of "Ekángavíra,"[4] the asylum of all good qualities.

He is as Náráyana towards his Dánava[5]-resembling enemies.

His titles are, Ráya-Náráyana, Nijáyuravadhírita, Pátamahá, Raya, Pitamahá, &c. Sovereign of Dwáravati Pura,[6] (Dwarka,) a lion for the conquest of the elephant-like Gurjara,[7] (the king of Gujarat).

As an intoxicated elephant for the rooting out the lofty tree-like Rajas of Telinga.

As a mighty deluge, overflowing the country of Malwa, resembling a large island.

Whose charity has made the Kalpataru[8] tree appear mean! Eminent, on account of such great virtues, and ornamented with such collection of titles, &c. He giveth laws to the whole world. (Such Sri-Rámchandra being Lord of Men; such, a moon of the lotus-like Yadu race existing).

[1] Or this may be a hill-fort; perhaps the one in Khandesh of this name.

[2] The fourth avatar of Vishnu, the lion-headed man.

[3] The Hindú Cupid.

[4] A hero, who by his own bodily prowess alone attacks and overcomes whole armies.

[5] Certain demons or monsters, sons of Danu, destroyed by Krishna.

[6] This is the name by which Dwarka alone is known to the Hindús as a city of any consequence in their annals, but it may be any capital.

[7] The province of Gujarat.

[8] A fabulous tree in the Puránas, which yields whatever may be required of it.

"DESCRIPTION OF THE IMMEDIATE DONOR, HIS FAMILY, &c., A PROVINCIAL GOVERNOR."

And (one who) by his propitious favour supporteth the weight of the whole kingdom, the chief of the elephant-keepers, one beautifully adorned with his own inherent virtues, extremely devoted to his lord, who hath undertaken the management of the whole affairs of the state, who hath conquered (the) "Jhári-mandala,"[1] a precious gem among ministers (councillors); his jewels are his virtues, of such gems he is the Rohanádri[2] mountain, who is as Hemádri;[3] such is Achyuta Náyaka.

(Whose descent is as follows:)—

"STANZAS."

1. Sri Janala, his ancestor, was a Brahman of the Sarviya[4] caste, the most ornamental gem of the Gautama race. After him was Madhuji, a most virtuous person.

After him his son, Achyuta Náyaka, was born: experienced in the sciences of the Védas, Shástras, and of arms; of most perfect virtue, pre-eminently handsome. By Sri Rámchandra's favour he was elevated to dignity and power.

2. This Achyuta of great dignity; excellent the abode of beauty,—an extremely generous donor. One who supporteth the weight of the whole world. Such a one existing—

Why did Brahma-déva create the sun? Why did he produce the moon? Wherefore the Chintamani[5] gem? This was all useless! Why form the lofty mountains?

"THE IMMEDIATE DONOR'S TITLES AND EPITHETS."

Who is as the Pita-mahá (Brahmá) among chieftains,[6] who is capable[7] of supporting the weight of all such provincial governors.[8]

[1] Supposed to have been some powerful enemy of this Raja, or the forest chiefs. Vide Asiatic Res. vol. xiv.

[2] Mountains containing mines.

[3] The Himalaya mountains.

[4] These are of the five Gour.

[5] A fabulous gem, said to yield its possessor whatever he may require.

[6] Or governors of provinces, or petty princes.

[7] Meaning, protecting them.

[8] Mandalik.

The destroyer of those banditti who come up against the inferior powers; whose title is Paschima-Ráya-Vibhára.[1]

ACTUAL GRANT.

"STANZA."

1. By this Achyuta Náyaka, exercising his own due powers, for the sake of propitiating divine favour to Sri Rámchandra-Déva, the village called Voula in this Konkana is given to thirty-two Brahmans, together with its nine mines, with its own proper eight boundaries in the best accustomary manner, in the district of Saskshati (Salsette[2]), to be enjoyed by these excellent Brahmans as they please, they being constantly employed in invoking blessings for that exalted personage (Sri Rámchandra-Déva).

The bounds and marks of this village are,—to the east, Sri Karnéswar village; to the south, Sitaliswara; to the west, the small village of Kopeswara, called Sambhawaja; to the north, the river Sambhawaja. Including, with such defined boundaries, such village of Voula, with its grass, timber, and water, trees and forests, together with the khári,[3] the streams and rivulets, Sri Achyuta Náyaka, has granted to thirty-two Brahmans.

Here follow the names of these Brahmans, their lineage.

The thirty-two Brahmans have given one share to Sri Lakshmi-Náráyana.[4]

NOTE.—The names of the writer and engraver are not entered in this inscription.

LIST OF KINGS IN NOS. IX. AND X.

Bhilama, of the Yádava or Jadow race, and of the Vaishnava sect.

1. Jaitrapála.
2. Singhana.

[1] The mighty supporter of the western kingdom, or, the powerful western prince.

[2] So called from its containing originally sixty-six villages.

[3] Khari,—inlet of the sea, river, &c.

[4] Probably a temple dedicated to Vishnu and his Shakti.

3. Jaitrapála.
4. Krishna.
5. Máhadeva.
6. Rámchandra, or Ramdeo.

These last two inscriptions were found at Thanna, in digging a grave, and sent by Mr. Baillie to the Hon. Mr. Elphinstone.

W. H. Wathen.

Art. XII.—*On the Ante-Brahmanical Worship of the Hindús in the Dekhan.* By John Stevenson, D.D.

Read 6th January, 1838.

In treating of the Hindú religion, much confusion has arisen from considering all the nations settled in the plains, and ranging over the mountains of Hindustan, from the Himálaya to Cape Comorin, as originally embued with one faith, and following one religious ritual.

It is now, indeed, generally understood, that within the above-mentioned limits there is not one, but several nations, diverse in origin; and it is obvious to the observation of every one, that there are now, within the boundaries of Hindustan, different religious systems. Yet it is still a common opinion, that what is usually called Hindúism, or the Brahmanical religion, was the ancient faith of the whole country; and that it maintained undisputed sway till inroads were made upon it, first by Buddhism, and subsequently by Mohammedanism. A close inspection, however, of the rites and ceremonies practised by the Hindús throughout this country, will soon convince a studious observer, that the notion of a universal prevalence of Brahmanism, and of its being the original faith of the whole of Hindustan, are alike unfounded. I can speak from personal observation, it is true, only of the state of things that obtains in the Dekhan, among the Maratha population; and to that district, and that population, I wish it to be understood that all my remarks are limited. There Brahmanism does not yet, properly speaking, extend to all the population; and there is a different form of idolatry still subsisting in that district, which must have preceded the introduction of the Brahmanical religion.

In the first place, the Brahmans themselves have a tradition, that their primitive seats were to the north of the Himálaya[1] mountains; and that it was from that middle region, which has poured forth its myriads, under the names of Scythians, Goths, Turks, and

[1] These mountains are called by the Greeks and Latins, Imaus, and Emodus; the former is the Sanskrit (हिम) Hima, with a Latin termination; and the latter हिमवत् Himawat, a little corrupted,—both words meaning *cold,* or *snow.*

Mongols, into the southern regions of Europe and Asia, that the Brahmans descended into Hindustan. In confirmation of this tradition, we find in that vast plain, amid the mountains of Tibet, marked in D'Anville's Ancient Geography, as the primitive seat of the *Brachmanni*, that we have the Mánas-sarowar, *i.e.* the Lake of Intellect, by far the most sacred of all the Hindú places of pilgrimage, and the Brahmaputra River, winding its way to the eastward for more than fifteen degrees of longitude, till at last it bursts through its mountain barriers, and descends into the plains of Hindustan; just as the Brahmans, those other sons of Brahmá, for this is the meaning of *Brahmaputra*, descended to take possession of the more genial plains to the south of the Snowy Mountains. Tradition relates, that the descent of the Brahmans took place near the western extremity of the chain, at the chasm by which the Ganges makes its way into India, and which is called the Gomukhi; a name interpreted by modern Hindús, ignorant of the language of the Vedas, to mean the Cow's Mouth, absurdly enough rendering the word *go* by the term *cow*, instead of *water*, of which in the ancient language of the Brahmans it is equally susceptible.

If, then, it once be admitted that the Brahmans at first were but foreigners in India, we are not to suppose that the country was uninhabited till the period of their migration. Besides, the lighter shade of colour, and the bolder physiognomy of the priestly race, show them to be decidedly a different tribe from the lower castes of the population, even after every allowance has been made for their better appearance, from less exposure to the elements, and a superior mode of living. Their ancient traditions at the same time speak of all the country to the south of the Vindhya Mountains, namely, the Dekhan, *i.e.* the *Dakshin*, or south country, the Carnatic, &c., as being anciently inhabited by Rakshasas, or demons, a name no doubt applied to the unlettered and uncivilized Aborigines of India.

If, then, the Brahmans were once foreigners in Hindustan, and the country previously peopled by a different race, there is a strong presumption against the religion of that aboriginal race being Brahmanism.

It is farther to be considered, that at the present day the hill-tribes of Bhils, Ramosis, and Kolis, which inhabit the mountains in the Dekhan, have no communication, in matters purely religious, with the Brahmans; and even the Mhers who live in the villages, though outside the walls, require none of their services in making offerings to their gods, and have gurus, or spiritual guides, of their

own caste to *open their ears,* as they term it, to divine instruction, and whisper into them the sacred incantation. The Brahmans have, however, so far prevailed as to make their services essential at births, deaths, and marriages. Young children receive their names from a Brahman; the person contaminated by a dead body requires water for his purification from a Brahman, and at the marriage *he* puts the grains of rice into the hands of the parties. These are institutions, however, partly civil, and partly religious; and the Brahmanical interference in these points tends to confirm our main position, by holding up the Brahmans rather as introducing into India, civilization, with which those rites are intimately connected, than as standing as priests between the worshipper and the Deity.

Further, several of the gods worshipped by the common people are unknown to the mythology of the Brahmans, and others are but slightly connected with it by a device, the nature of which we shall by-and-by explain. The same deities are worshipped by the outcast mountaineers, Mhérs, &c., and the Hindú agricultural population, while it is looked upon as a disgrace to a Brahman ever to have recourse to the aid of such demons.

All these considerations go to prove the existence of a more ancient form of religion among the Hindús, prior to the introduction of Brahmanism, a religion, too, which the new system has yet but very partially succeeded in supplanting.

In investigations of this nature, however, it is to be borne in mind, that the Brahmanical religion, like that of ancient Greece and Rome, is exceedingly accommodating to other idolatrous systems. When the ancient Romans came to any new country, they were sure to find there a Jupiter. Not content with a Jupiter Capitolinus at Rome, and a Jupiter Olympius in Greece, they must make one of the Egyptian Hammon. According to the same principle the Brahmans find everywhere Avatárs of their principal divinities. Whenever they find among other idolaters a god they wish to reverence, they make him an avatár of that one of their own who most resembles him in attributes and worship. Innumerable local avatárs of gods have thus sprung up throughout the country; and as soon as any one of these becomes somewhat famous, a legend, or *Máhátmya,* of the god of the place is composed, and given out as belonging to one or other of the Puráns. We have an example of this in Khandaba, a modern Dekhan god. He has been made an avatár of Siva, and his Máhátmya, called the Mallári, is attached to the Linga Purán, no doubt because the deified chief, Khande Rao, as he is also named, was a promoter of that worship. We

must therefore be on our guard, and not take it for granted that every thing which has now become connected with Hindúism belongs to the ancient Brahmanical system.

A close investigation of the subject will show that there is much of what is now esteemed Brahmanism, foreign to that system. Some of these things are ancient, and some modern; but neither is the one class nor the other perfectly incorporated with the ancient religion of the Brahmans. And it is this incompleteness in the amalgamation of the different and heterogeneous systems, which enables us to resolve the whole into its proper elements, and to detect the traces of that Ante-Brahmanical worship in India, which is more properly the subject of this paper, and which we shall commence by describing as the worship of Vetál.

I.—Of the Worship of Vetál.

The worship of Vetál seems, for reasons that will immediately be given, decidedly Ante-Brahmanical; and yet I have seen around one small village in the Dekhan, no less than three erections to his honour, and in a large district of the Maratha country scarcely a village is to be found, that does not publicly testify its respect for him.

Vetál is generally, in the Dekhan, said to be an avatár of Siva, and wonderful exploits performed by him are related in a book called the Vetál Puchísi; but this composition has not had the good fortune to gain the voice of the Brahmans, and be placed among the Máhátmyas. On the contrary, they look upon it merely as a parcel of fables, and dispute the claims of Vetál to any divine honours whatever. In Wilson's Sanskrit Dictionary no higher character is given to this important personage than that of sprite, or demon, animating dead bodies. As, then, the Brahmans universally reprobate both his character and worship, and acknowledge him in none of their sacred books, it seems rather hard to tack him to their system, and call his worship a part of Brahmanism.

That the worship of this demon is not of modern invention, but of great antiquity, is argued from the following considerations:—1st. Vetál, in the Dekhan, has no image in the shape of any animal whatever. It seems, then, probable that this worship was introduced previous to the custom of likening the gods to men and other animals. 2d. Vetál has no temple, but is worshipped in the open air, generally under the shade of a wide-spreading tree. This cir-

cumstance, also, connects his worship with the most ancient forms of idolatry. The Canaanites in the time of Moses had no temples, for while the Israelites were commanded to remove every vestige of their idolatry, even to cast down their idol-groves, nothing is said of temples.

The place where Vetál is worshipped is a kind of Stonehenge, or inclosure of stones, usually in somewhat of a circular shape. The following is the plan after which these circles are constructed. At some distance from the village, under a green spreading tree, of any of the common indigenous species, is placed Vetál. If, as sometimes happens in a bare country like the Dekhan, no tree at a convenient distance is to be found, Vetál is content to raise his naked head under the canopy of heaven, without the slightest artificial covering whatever. The principal figure, where the worship of Vetál is performed, is a rough unhewn stone, of a pyramidal, or triangular shape, placed on its base, and having one of its sides fronting the east, and, if under a tree, placed to the east side of the tree. The stone is of various dimensions. Those I have seen have been from about two to four feet in height. A circle is formed with similar, but smaller stones, distant about one or two feet from each other. These circles vary from about fifteen to forty feet in diameter. The number of stones also varies, but I have generally found them about twelve, or multiples of twelve, but not universally so. Many of the circles are incomplete, stones having been accidentally thrown down by the cattle, or other accidents, so that it is difficult often to determine the original number.

In one carefully constructed circle, in a secluded spot near Poonah, I found the circle consisted exactly of twelve stones, with an additional stone placed outside, as it were by way of door-keeper. There the principal figure facing the east was about three feet in height, then followed two small stones about one foot and a half in height, then a third larger stone about two feet in height, and so on till the circle was completed. In another erection, there was first an outer circle, and then an inner one about two feet in diameter, composed of very small stones. I observed particularly in all these circles of triangular stones, that each stone had been painted red with cinnabar, to about three-fourths of its height from the ground, while the remainder was painted white with a kind of pipe-clay. In those circles where the colours had not been lately freshened this appearance was not very distinct, but where they had lately been renewed it was very evident, so as at once, with the pyramidal shape of the stone, to suggest to the mind the idea of a flame of

fire. We are thus led to the conclusion, that this part of the aboriginal worship of Hindustan, consisted in the performing of certain ceremonies to fire, considered as a divinity, and represented under the emblem of a pyramidal stone, painted red below and tipped with white.

Fire, it is well known, was one of the most ancient objects worshipped, after men forsook the adoration of a Spiritual Divinity; but the emblem now described was not used either among the Brahmans or Zoroastrians, in their worship of that element; proving again the distinct and independent origin of the worship we are now considering. But it may be asked, why should there be a multiplicity of stones arranged in a circle? Would not one suffice as an emblem of fire considered as a divinity? In answer to this question, it is to be considered that the sun has always been considered as the great repository of fire, among all the fire worshippers; and therefore it is, probably, that in this other ancient form of idolatry, he has been especially kept in view. Accordingly, in the carefully constructed circle of twelve stones, which I mentioned as existing near Poonah, it would seem that the sun, in his passage through the twelve signs of the ecliptic, is intended. It is true that the modern Hindús would probably wish to identify these stones with Siva and the eleven Rudras, but Rudra is represented in the Vedas as a form of fire. So that Siva and his eleven Rudras, the twelve Adityas of the Hindús, and the twelve Dii Majorum Gentium of the Romans, may all be considered as referring to the same thing. The twelve Adityas of the Brahmans are by themselves referred to the different manifestations of the sun in his passage through the ecliptic, and the circular form of Vetál's inclosures, as well as the number of stones, evidently points to the same thing.

Vetál is worshipped in sickness, and vows are made to him, which are paid on recovery. The votive offering is generally a cock, the same that the Greeks were in the habit of giving to Æsculapius, when he interposed with his sanatory powers on their behalf. The blood is presented in a vessel, and the deity is supposed to smell it, and be satisfied. The carcass is taken away, and eaten by the person who has charge of the place. No priest is required to make the oblation; the person who pays the vow, or supplicates the aid of the god, is his own priest, himself makes the prayer, slays the animal, and presents the blood. In making a vow the suppliant seats himself in a respectful manner before the god, if near enough to be able to go to his shrine, otherwise he can make the vow in

any place. Seated, he addresses the god in his own vernacular language. A prayer of this kind, which I once heard, was to this effect: "O god (naming him), thou hast been to me a good god, but now my child has fallen sick. Why hast thou afflicted my boy? Restore him, O god, and I will give thee a cock."

Another occasion of worshipping Vetál is when any one is possessed by a devil, afflicted by madness, epilepsy, any severe nervous disease, or obstinate intermittent diseases, which are all ascribed to demoniacal agency. In such a case, a person expert in discerning the marks of possession is sent for. After going through a number of magical ceremonies, and saying mantras which are kept a profound secret from the uninitiated, he determines whether Vetál or what other god has caused the disease, whether the demon has been moved by the magical incantations of any one to afflict the sick or insane person, who the magician is, if magic has been used, and how the god is to be propitiated and the demon expelled. The expiation for the afflicted person is generally a cock to Vetál. If so, some of his friends takes it to the god, and after waving it round his head, and entreating favour for the afflicted person, offers it in the way before described.

Within Vetál's circles are generally to be seen three or four large stones. These the makers of vows and offerers lift, in order to divine by their means the fate of their petitions. If these divining stones feel light, they judge that their request is granted; if heavy, a contrary inference is drawn.

Vetál, I have heard, is sometimes personified, and represented with two arms in a human figure. He is then worshipped in a temple, the same as the other village gods. This worship, however, is as different from that which we have been describing, as that of Siva in his human form with three eyes, is from that of the Lingam; and is no more to be confounded with the more ancient form of worship, than are the rites practised in the two different ways of propitiating Maheswar, to be confounded with one another.

Such, then, are the principal facts I have learned relative to this primitive worship of Vetál, and such are the views I have been led to entertain of its nature and antiquity. Other ancient Dekhan divinities may at a future period claim our attention.

Note on the Worship of Vetál, with reference to Dr. Stevenson's *Paper on the Ante-Brahmanical Worship of the Dekhan. By* John Wilson, D.D., *President of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.*

The subject to which Dr. Stevenson has turned his attention is a most important one; and I hope that he will prosecute its investigation, in which many will feel a considerable interest.

With his introductory observations most Orientalists will be disposed generally to agree. He is not disinclined to allow the following statement of the result of my own inquiries into the worship of Vetál to accompany his paper, which well deserves to be transmitted to the Parent Society. It is with the view of promoting further inquiry and discussion, to which none is more friendly than himself, that I take the liberty of submitting it.

1. The worship of Vetál is not confined to the Dekhan. It is prevalent in the Konkan, Kanara, Gujarat, and Kach, and probably in other provinces.

2. The Brahmans everywhere generally discountenance this worship; and whether it be Ant*e*-Brahmanical or not, it is certainly Ant*i*-Brahmanical. The Brahmans, I have found, thus account for its origin. Vetál, according to the Hindú mythology, is the chief of the Pisháchas, or fiends; and is consequently an object of popular terror. The uneducated think it right to propitiate him, which they do by erecting blocks of stones, of the kind described by Dr. Stevenson, and occasionally shedding on them the blood of a fowl, a sheep, or a goat; or, in the absence of that soothing liquid, bedaubing them with red-lead, emblematical of its colour.

3. The stones which accompany Vetál are generally set forth as the representatives of a part of the army of fiends, over whom he presides. There seems to be no regulation as to their number. I have seen it vary from three to about forty, in different places.

4. The stones surrounding Vetál have generally nothing but a white colouring upon them. The Brahmans say that it is used merely to make them conspicuous at a distance. The red *shindur* is reserved for him who is the particular object of fear.

5. Vetál, as stated by Dr. Stevenson, is seldom honoured with an image and a temple. When he *has* an image, it is generally of the rudest character. In a temple on the Malabar Hill, near Bombay, he is exhibited in the form of a man, but without arms

and legs. In the village of Aráwalí, near Sáwant Wádí, there is a large temple erected to his honour, in which he is set forth as a fierce and gigantic man, perfect in all his parts.

6. If we suppose the first worship of Vetál to have preceded the use of regular images, which, to say the least, is very questionable, it seems difficult to connect it with the twelve signs of the zodiac, which are represented by regular figures.

John Wilson.

Art. XIII.—*A remarkable Appearance in the Indian Seas; in a Letter from* Lieutenant Dawson. *Communicated by* William Newnham, Esq.

Read 2nd of December, 1837.

Royal Asiatic Society, Dec. 2, 1837.

I beg leave to lay before the meeting an extract from the private journal of Lieutenant Henry Dawson, a very intelligent officer of the Royal Navy, at present employed on civil duties with the Indian Navy at Bombay, containing an account of a very extraordinary phenomenon, which was observed on the passage from Bombay to the Persian Gulf (the southern passage), on board the Honourable Company's sloop of war Clive, in 1832. On my first going to India, I was in the habit of intimacy with the late Captain David Seton, who was many years Resident at Muscat, and I well remember hearing him relate the circumstance of falling in with the *white sea*, described by Mr. Dawson, on his occasional voyages to Muscat, during the period of the south-west monsoon.[1] So many years, however, have since elapsed, I am unable to give any more detail of the circumstance related by that officer, and merely here allude to it in proof of the phenomenon having been before observed.

William Newnham.

During a passage from Bombay to the Persian Gulf, on board the Honourable Company's sloop Clive, on the 22nd of August, 1832, at a quarter before eight o'clock at night, a phenomenon appeared of the following nature, and to all on board, of an unheard-of-kind, which gave rise to transitory feelings of apprehension as to the vessel's contiguity to danger. Sailing under double-reefed top-sails and foresail, at the rate of nine and a half miles per hour, before a strong south-west monsoon wind, and a high sea, without any

[1] Our subsequent inquiries serve to confirm this statement, inasmuch as few navigators appear to have passed along the eastern coast of Arabia, in the months of June, July, and August, without noticing the discolourment of the water (but *during the night only*), and which, on examination when brought on board, is said to exhibit no difference whatever from sea-water in other parts of the ocean.—Ed.

indication of a change in the elements, the ship was surrounded *instanter* by water as white as milk or snow; it seemed to have no termination until it reached an altitude of seventy-five or eighty degrees, where it subsided in a strongly marked ecliptic, above which the heavens presented a beautiful and bright bluish cast, not dissimilar to polished steel. No line of horizon was visible; the dead white colour of the water close to the ship, as it increased in distance from her very gradually brightened, until, where I supposed the horizon to be, it assumed a silvery aspect, which, increasing as it ascended, became brilliant and dazzling towards the zenith, obscuring the stars and clouds which had before this visitation been distinctly visible. The sea in a moment became smooth; the ship, from rolling and labouring considerably, quite steady; no diminution in the wind occurred, but a sensation that it had fallen, even to a calm, was general, but momentary. This delusion was occasioned by the instantaneous steadiness of the vessel, as well as the cessation of the previous noise from the lashing of a mountainous and confused sea against the vessel's sides, and on her decks; her progress through the sea, however closely scrutinised, could not be observed; the disturbed water alongside and in her wake, as well as the foam around her bows, did not contrast with the adjoining unagitated fluid, notwithstanding, from the velocity of the ship through the water, these must have been considerable. Not a particle of phosphoric matter was once observable, either in the surrounding ocean, or in the water immediately displaced by the ship's passage through it; but when taken up in a bucket, and agitated with the hand, such was visible, but not in a greater proportion then is usual, nor did the water vary in appearance from common sea-water: nothing could be perceived to attribute this strange phenomenon to.

Animalcules of a minute kind were perceptible, as likewise a few pieces of a glutinous substance of a purple colour, but neither in any considerable quantity, nor differing from what is usually found in the seas of the Indian Ocean.

We sailed the distance of fifteen miles without the slightest change in the appearance of the sea or sky, when in a moment this extraordinary phenomenon vanished, the ship at the same instant encountering the like high and turbulent sea as previous to her envelopement.

The ship was not within one hundred miles of the eastern coast of Arabia, or of soundings, but sailing in what is termed deep ocean water.

I have before mentioned that the ship was quite steady during her progress through the white water; this was the case, with the exception, that in a few instances she gave a heavy roll, as if influenced by a following swell; these were not more frequent than once in a quarter of an hour. Latitude 21° 40′ north, 59° 40′ east; thermometer 87°, barometer twenty-nine inches and nine-tenths.

The phenomenon I have attempted to describe appeared twice after we were first extricated from it, for periods of about twenty minutes; its brilliancy, as well as influence over the waves, as previously described; the transition from high and mountainous seas to a smooth and seemingly quiet ocean, and change again to turbulence, was as sudden as a flash of lightning.

On my arrival at Muscat, a few days after, I endeavoured to gain some information on the foregoing matter, but beyond finding that the phenomenon was occasionally met during the strength of the south-west monsoon, about the limit noted, and that the water was then *quite fresh,* I could ascertain nothing satisfactory. My informants were the Nakodas, or captains of His Highness the Imam's ships of war, who frequently navigate between Muscat and Zanzibar, consequently must pass about the spot the Clive met what I have related. The Arab captains were firm in their assertion in the particular of the fresh water, although they confessed that they had never tasted it. I did, as also the surgeon of the vessel, and, as I mentioned before, it did not vary in any way from ordinary sea-water.

H. D.

// JOURNAL

OF THE

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

Art. XIV.—*Review of the Makámát ul Harírí, by* W. F. Thompson, Esq., *Bengal Civil Service.*

Read at General Meeting, 2nd February, 1839.

The Makámát of Abul Feteh el Harírí, in its own particular department (that of rhetorical gracefulness), is the leading classic of the Arabs. The principal merits then are those we cannot see. A language must be known in its familiar and habitual applications; its relations to all the characteristics of a people and a country, must not only be understood, but felt, pursued, and admired by foreigners, before the merits of style can be properly appreciated. We must wander with them over their deserts, watch with them beneath their skies—join in the pride of the past—the capriciousness of the present—the carelessness of the future—master every national peculiarity, and delight in each—before we can enter into the intellectual system that resulted from the whole.

To the inhabitants of adjacent countries, such as those of Europe, this interchange of feeling and situation is agreeable as a variety, rather than arduous as a study. But when the relative situations differ by nearly all the difference that earth and nature can place between them, then mental assimilation becomes a difficult, if not impracticable process. Every impression, as we first receive it, has to be divested of associations with which it has been linked from infancy, before the precise idea which rose in the writer's mind can be realized in that of the reader. We are like men who discount a foreign and suspected bill in the coin of our own country—the sums on either side may be of equal value in their respective situations, but local circumstances make each inadequate to each when carried to a distance.

The reverse of this holds good with regard to the national characteristics themselves—the substance as distinguished from the style of foreign writings. The resemblance is here not to the coin, but to

the goods, to which the distance itself gives half the value, and many a trait which a native reader would pass over unobserved, because invariable, will yield a foreigncr the richest store of instruction and entertainment. The writings of remote antiquity partake of this peculiarity, and many of the (so called) matchless compositions, which are in our hands from childhood, are indebted for celebrity less to their own elevation above the average of human capacity, than to some unnoticed change in our position and habits, the aspect in which, and the medium though which, they are viewed.

In the last of those elements, these Makámát gain more, perhaps, than they lose in the first, for they incorporate the habits and spirit of a remarkable people, and that at a critical time.

It was in the reign of Mustadí, in the beginning of the fourth century (A.D. 1000), that Abul Fetch, of Bussora, composed his Makámát, a time when the Khaliphat was virtually in the hands of the Tartar guards. The social institutions that had sprung up so rapidly from rapine and bloodshed, seemed verging on decline, while the individual warmth of fanaticism that had called them forth, still raged with equal fierceness, but with more distraction among all.

Religious feeling drove them to the study of their scriptures, and, therefore, of those refined systems of reasoning, which were necessary, in order to apply them to the purposes of life, and were held essential parts of the sacred study.

The Korán was in their eyes so sacred, as a material means and monument of revelation, that the mere reverence for sanctity would be satisfied with beholding, or repeating, its words (as is now practised by Indian Mohammedans) without any acquaintance with their signification. But the moment they aimed at the spiritual part of the study, they were defeated by its very simplicity, unless they had recourse to the treatises in which the fathers of the faith had contrived to ground all, both of science and practice, on that mass of tautology and passion. Thus in the system of the Arabs, fanaticism was necessarily connected with literary attainment; and intellectual exercise with refinement, knowledge, and power. In every page of this work, we find proofs of the extent to which this universal study was carried—the influence it exercised even in the lowest orders of the state, and the consideration which its possessors enjoyed from all. The middle classes were broken up, it may be said, into so many literary coteries, which, from time to time, assembled for literary, religious, and philosophical discussion. The victor of one assembly would try his fortune in another, and

the celebrated of various cities might be convened, ostensibly for entertainment, but really to contest the palm of wit and talent with those more worthy of their powers. The spirit of vagrancy which so remarkably characterizes the literary giants of Islam, may be noticed in every Persian classic. It is originally referrible to the extent of the Khaliphat, combined with the religious obligation of pilgrimage. Once in motion, they would visit, of course, the civil as well as the religious metropolis, and try the fortune of their wits at the Khaliph's court. But a third, and in practice the most effectual, because most continual cause, was this very thirst for literary conquest. Powers might thus be developed, and comparisons drawn, to the most unexpected issues, and it was nothing surprising to see some toil-worn, haggard wayfarer, whom no one knew, enter the learned circle where the choicest intellects of a province were convened, and alternately harangue, flout, argue, and pray them into acknowledging his superiority to themselves. In the course of their peregrinations, they were of course exposed to all the uncertainties of fortune, as they usually followed their intellectual pursuits to the total disregard of all but the most urgent of worldly necessities.

Possessed of minds inexhaustibly fertile, and engrossed in the study of a religion which gave all to rhapsody, and nothing to the homely moralities of life, there was obviously a danger of their descending to loose unprincipled methods of supporting themselves, when placed at a distance from their friends and resources. The affectation of a sententiousness not always felt by them, was the necessary concomitant of so excessive an addiction to an artificial pursuit; the first step to deceit was taken, and taken to the greater peril, because, perhaps, taken unconsciously. The transition from this to graver deceptions, all equally to be palliated by the sublimity of the end, is easy to be conceived, and one who was received and courted in the city for a saint and a philosopher, might indulge himself in practising elsewhere, as an impostor and a rogue.

Imagine all these elements of character developed to the highest degree in the same person, the holiest aspirations of religion, the loftiest flights of intellect, the sweetest turns of fancy, clothing themselves in a language of inexhaustible richness and harmony; the possessor of them so conscious of his powers as to be restless without an opportunity of exerting them, yet careless, from his very pride, of exerting them in one settled direction, or to any determined scope, wandering from country to country, and city to city, without object or support besides the plenitude of his unmatched excellence, devoting his powers sometimes to the greatest, and sometimes to the

meanest of purposes; yet never, even in these, losing sight of the dignity of their possession; foiling the learned, baffling the great, trifling with the simple, and defrauding the humane. So unfailingly rich in his own resources, as never to apprehend want before deception, or human retribution afterwards, the reflected possessor of every man's wealth, whom he cared to circumvent; the favoured of nature, the admired of man, the protected of heaven. Imagine all this, and you have no exaggerated picture of Abuzeid, of Serúj, the hero of Harírí's Makámát. He is conducted through fifty tales embodying different scenes, characters, and participators; re-appearing in as many different forms at the commencement of each, glimmering through the disguise as the matchless developement of imposture proceeds, and revealed to us at the termination in all the dignity of his effrontery, the same unequalled adept in religion and in fraud.

The unity of these various incidents lies in their being put into the mouth of a narrator, one Háris bin Hammám, himself (so it is intended) a scholar of no ordinary attainments, but of too diminutive a character to relish or understand his friend's magnanimous indifference to the rules and interests of ordinary men. This contrast between the two characters, though skilfully kept from obtrusion, is one of the most masterly touches in the composition. It affords us amusement at the same time that it brings the peculiarities of the hero into the most expressive, yet graceful relief. Possessed of the deepest admiration of his friend's powers, Háris is constantly on the look-out for Abuzeid, yet never meets him without being tricked into paying handsomely for the gratification. When the discovery is made, which it ever is too late, Háris remonstrates, and Abuzeid smiles, apologizes, and leaves him—but only, we feel assured, to follow what is at once his pleasure, and his profession, in some other quarter. The work thus possesses a reflective action, independent of anything that is represented, or alluded to, and yet highly conducive to our comprehension of the whole. The termination is characteristic of the person, the people, and the time. Abuzeid is represented as working on the feelings of the people of Bussora, by touching appeals to Heaven for forgiveness and grace; intending thereby not the accomplishment of his prayer, but the disposing of his auditors to bestow their charity on so pious a personage; when suddenly the prayer is heard, he is seen to tremble, and weep with more than the fulness of deception; the exalted devotion which he displayed for his own advantage, had been less assumed for the purpose, than roused to its own indulgence—the breath of Heaven had breathed on him—the impostor had departed,

but the Saint remained. Abuzeid then retires to his native city of Serúj, and passes the short remnant of his days in the austere and unremitting exercise of secluded devotion.

On this retrospect, it is difficult to conceive how the author can have exhibited his hero, under circumstances of such debasement, without in any degree lowering, nay, rather, perhaps, by this very fact, augmenting the elevation of the character he depicts. It is here that the admirable skill and discrimination of the Arab are so conspicuous. Ever hovering on the verge of baseness, Abuzeid is still sustained above it, by the secret operation of a nature we feel to be superior to our own. Did he ever falter in his course, did his mind ever seem, for an instant, to admit even to itself the unworthiness of the course he was pursuing, he would be for ever lost to our affections. It is the cool, unflinching determination he maintains throughout, which extorts our esteem, because it assures us he possessed his own. Were we to meet such a mystery among the actual characters of life, we should say he sacrificed the less to the greater—his rule being the indulgence of his intellect, and his justification, its right, from matchless superiority, to be so indulged. He reminds us of some generous bird of prey, which stoops awhile from Heaven to satisfy the cravings that flesh is heir to, and then resumes his course through the sublime and inaccessible element, so peculiarly his own. From a want of due acquaintance with the whole, we are apt, in the early lectures, to be scandalized at the false familiarity with which he handles religious topics; but the defect is only in the immaturity of our perceptions—the familiarity is not false, though falsehood is its partner; the feeling he evinces is his own, supremely, undeviatingly, incessantly his own; but in the superiority of his own intellect, and the singularity of his own excellence, HE can reconcile it with actions, from which the blind prejudice of a more limited mind recoils. The deception is not in the devotion he displays, but in the moral laxity which he conceals from others and justifies to himself. The value of this delineation is something greater than we can attribute to its critical accuracy or singular character. It incorporates the spirit of the age he wrote in. It is the "beau idéal," the moral prototype, to which that structure of society would tend to assimilate its most gifted and cultivated members. Every literary character of the time would be more or less an Abuzeid, though wanting the completeness and constancy of this their too refined abstract. Neither are we to confine the resemblance to classes merely literary, not at least as such classes are regarded by ourselves. The connexion between religion and

letters, has been traced above, and it extended equally to government, law, and military avocations; all were founded on the Korán, all experienced equal sway, and in some measure were pursued at once. Nothing more need be said to show the precarious condition of the people—their virtues betraying them to their vices, their vices flattered with the name of virtues. Their fanatic reliance on the favour and protection of Heaven, unmerited as it generally was by any real title to commendation, threw a cloak over every act of perfidy and violence, till, in their eyes, duty and indulgence became identical terms. Where everything was supposed to be actuated and directed by Heaven, the acquisition of power was interpreted as the favour of God. Success then might justify any enormities, though ever so great, by which it was brought about, and therefore enormities would always be familiar to those who expected success. What could be right, certain conditions being answered, could not be known to be wrong, till the time for proving those conditions arrived. All who hoped to win, might win by any means, and as nothing is attempted with the expectation of failure, every effort and every desire might be pursued with a safe conscience through any atrocity, till the issue either confirmed its propriety, or cut short at once the question and the offence.

The corrective to these pernicious tendencies during the first century of the faith, lay in the mighty hold of the Khaliphs on the esteem and affection of their subjects. But the fanaticism on which the whole structure depended was armed against itself—differences must always subsist among every collection of men, however disinterested, and where every one has a religious sanction to his own persuasions, and is resolved to carry out religious duty at the expense of life, a single wrong-headed bigot may disarm a state by depriving it of its head.

The successive assassinations of Osman, Omar, and Ali, the degraded character of the early Ommian Khaliphs, the subsequent wars of the two races, joined to the incessant persecution of Ali's unfortunate and sacred descendants, had shaken the popular regard, and divorced the temporal from the spiritual chief.

The Khaliphs were driven to the maintenance of foreign guards; a step still further calculated to alienate the popular mind. From this moment the state was divided into opposite parties, the privileged minority, with the Khaliph at its head, and a dissipated majority, detesting their opponents, and through them the monarch who upheld them. The subjugation of the prince to his own adherents of course followed. Provincial governors, with little to fear, and

nothing to respect, threw off their allegiance, and the Khaliphat was first divided, and then overwhelmed by its own fragments.

One more point remains to be noticed in connexion with this remarkable work; and that, perhaps, to a Western reader, the most interesting of any. It needs but a glance at the outline to show us that our friend Don Quixote de la Mancha, so long regarded as an original, is merely the moral converse of Abuzeid of Serúj. The one as ingeniously benevolent as the other is magnanimously selfish —each the express image and abstract of the moral excesses to which his age was tending, and each following the spirit of his respective calling, through a series of peregrinations, in which he is himself the principal object. Adverting to the celebrity of the work as an Arabic classic, and the attention which Arabic literature and traditions still received in Spain, at the period when Cervantes wrote, there can be little doubt that the first faint conception of the knight and his proceedings, was caught from the text, or the renown of Harírí's Makâmât, which, it may be here mentioned, is itself improved on a former publication, by Ahmed bin Hussein, of Hamadan.

The great merit of Harírí's book lying in its execution, it would be unfair to compare it with that of Cervantes, on the mere ground of the subject matter, but the resemblance of the works having been touched on, it is necessary to remark that, in this particular, Quixote is, undoubtedly, the greater performance. As his character requires still more delicacy of management than the one before us, so it is also sustained uninjured, through a far wider field of circumstance, and under far greater hazards of debasement. The pertinacity with which the Arab adheres to his principal character, to the neglect of every particular not vitally inherent in this one all-engrossing object, is a critical peculiarity of his national school, which narrowed the difficulties he had to contend with. There is, however, more of truth and nature in the holy impostor, than in the benevolent enthusiast, and therefore his character will, in general, be the most readily identified in our own bosoms. Abuzeid lives, moves, and acts before us; but in the simplest extravagance of the Knight, we always preserve a lurking consciousness, that the whole is an impracticable exaggeration; the reality of the first we never question, but the second proceeds all along on the ground of merely conventional credence. The Quixote may be the cleverest, but the Makámát is the most pleasing.

One further particular of moral resemblance will serve at once to conclude the subject and characterize the work. Under the wit

and pleasantry of Cervantes, it has been justly observed, there lurk the elements of bitterness and despair. If this is the result of disinterestedness, what is virtue? what is the world? what is man?

In Harírí's Makámát, the same question meets us in a different form. If the highest flights of intellect and devotion cannot be indulged without injuring society, what is society worth?

We are here at the transcendental doctrine of human nature, its radical and incurable imperfection. To assent to this is one thing—to understand, and still more to feel it, is another. When our own spirits have once dashed their wing against this impassable barrier to aspiration, the highest point has been touched at once, of our knowledge, and our happiness; and nothing is left us but to veil the sad discovery from other men, and turn, like Abuzeid, to the service and solicitation of that Eternal Author of our being, who alone can change our despondence into fulness of joy.

The following extracts afford samples of the work.

Háris bin Hammám relates,—"I and my friends had held a meeting where none who spake was dispirited, where no spark was struck to perish, yet no heat of opposition was raised. And whilst we were disputing on the arena of criticism, and bandying the choicest quotations, behold there stood by us one, who bore on his back a coverlit, and had in his gait a limp—'O choicest of repositories of knowledge and gladdeners of intelligence (thus it was he addressed us), blessings on your morning, and let the like greeting be on me. Look now upon one who was once possessed of men, and of means; of substance, and of superfluity; of fields, and of village; of friends and of tillage. Then followed the frowns of fortune, the hosts of trouble, the scathings of the invidious, the gripings of the interested, till empty was the hand, and vacant the court. The fountain dried away, the cottage vegetated, the gathering-room was tenantless, and the sleeping-room rough with stones for pillows; the estate was overturned, the children wept aloud, the mansion was deserted, and compunction visited the reviler; the speaker and the speechless gave us our due, and the envier and they that exulted in our grief, were even moved to pity: so we bowed to the time that humbled us, and the want wherewith we were chastened, walking in the path of anguish—feeding upon sorrow, filling ourselves with hunger—twisting our entrails with want—anointing our eyes with watchfulness—harbouring upon hill-sides—treading upon thorns—forgetting what saddles were—coveting the death appointed to us, and longing for the day ordained for us. Is

there then among you all, a noble heart to relieve, or a generous one to console us. For I swear by him, who brought me forth from the womb of a princess, I am verily the brother of indigence, and possess not shelter for the night.'

"Here," says Háris bin Hammám, "I inclined me to his necessities, and set myself forward to draw forth his periods, so holding out to him a Dinár, I offered to bestow it on him, if he would say something poetical in its praise; on which he broke forth on the moment and without premeditation.

'Now blessings on thy yellow face that gleams so mild and clear,
Thou wanderer of the mazy earth, delighting everywhere—
Thou cam'st to us from ages past, a relic to revere;
And if content be hid from man, its sepulchre is here.
Thou bring'st success, at length to bless, the toil of many a year,
Go where thou wilt, and how thou wilt, thou canst not but be dear,
The very ore seems stamped of hearts, with newer life to cheer,
And he whose purse is stored with thee, has never need to fear,
The first fresh ray may fade away, and leave a duller sphere;
But blessings on the clouded disk, that ever shines to cheer,
And blessings on the power and might, that lives in its career.
How many a prince's tottering throne, has found its safeguard here—
How many a rich one, but for this, had pined in ceaseless fear—
How many a host of ills have fled before this gleaming spear—
How many an orb of chastest ray, thy orb has blazed to blear—
How many a flame that tower'd on high, and ravaged far and near,
Thy tongue has schooled, thy touch has cooled, and bade it disappear.
How many a captive from his friends, who vainly sighed to hear,
Hast thou released to mirthful feast, from prison yawning drear;
By Him on high, who rules the sky, so great thy powers appear,
Thou almost shar'st his mighty name—a God that we revere.'

"No sooner had he finished than he stretched out his hands, saying, 'as the generous man promises, so he performs, and the cloud that thunders ought to rain.' I threw him the Dinár, and told him to take it ungrudged, and he put it into his mouth, blessing it the while. Then having rendered his thanks, he girt himself up to depart, when I, feeling a rising inclination towards his eccentricity, so as to make extravagance disregarded, held out another Dinár, and challenged him to win that by reviling it, on which he broke forth rapidly and unhesitatingly.

'Perish thou stale and treacherous drudge, that rendest where you light,
Thou yellow slave, with double face, thou faithless parasite—
A double guise is that thou wear'st, to captivate the sight,
The lover's dull despairing look, the mistress' luring light.

What but the love of thee vile ore (say those who judge aright),
Induces to the crimes that brave the Maker's awful might,
If thou wert not, no thievish hand would feel the axe's smite.
No lurking vice would conscious brood, and intercept the light;
No miser then would start, to hear the step that glides at night;
No creditor would execrate the debtor's broken plight.
None then would pray to evitate the shafts of covert spite,
And all the nameless, countless wrongs, in which the bad delight.
In straits involved who looks to thee, for aid however slight,
Scarce gains the single paltry boon, when thou art lost in flight.
Honour to him who throws thee first from some precipitous height;
Or when the first alluring beam has sparkled in his sight,
Will tell it, like the hoary sage, in vanquished passion's spite,
It is not well to be with thee—pass on, and so good night.'

"All I could observe was, 'how copious is your fluency!' when he exclaimed, 'but our agreement presses for accommodation;' so I gave him the other Dinár, bidding him take care to double it, on which he put it into his mouth in this way, doubling it with its fellow, and turned away proud of his morning's work, and extolling the host and his party. Here" says Háris bin Hammám, "my heart whispered me it was Abuzeid, and the lameness only his imposture, so I called out to him to be *upright in his ways*, or he would always be known by his colours. 'Is it Bin Hammám?' says he, 'then welcome to my respects, and be ever honourable, as at present.' 'Yes,' I said, 'I am Háris, and how are you, and your fortunes?' 'Oh,' he said, 'fluctuating between two conditions, of hope and fear; impelled by two winds, the stormy and the gentle.' 'But the lameness,' I said, 'why assume that? It is not for such as you to be a jester.' At this his countenance, that had lighted up, became clouded, and he turned away with these lines:—

''Twas not to be lame that I made myself lame,
But to knock at the portal that leads to my aim.
'Tis thus I entangle the camel I need,
And walk in the ways of the seeker of game;
Forgive me, ye wise ones, that carp at my guise,
When my fortunes *walk steadily*—I'll do the same.'"

Extract 2nd.

Again Háris bin Hammám relates in another place:—

"When I crossed the desert to Zobeid, there accompanied me a boy I had brought up till he reached maturity, and instructed till

his education was complete. It was thus, that he became used to my ways, and acquainted with the tendencies of my disposition. He never overstepped my intentions nor misdirected my purposes, so that his attendance was interwoven with the chords of my heart, and whether stationary or travelling, I made him my perpetual companion and confidant. But no sooner had Zobeid closed on us than time the destroyer made away with him. So when his melody failed, and his spirit mounted, and he departed, I remained a year without relishing my food or seeking for another servant, till overcome by the inconvenience of solitude, and the vexation of my situation, I proceeded to replace my pearl, and to seek a substitute for that I had lost. So I looked in the market of Zobeid for the sellers of slaves, saying, 'I require a slave, who shall astonish on examination, and be approved on trial; one of those, whom indigence and want of subsistence have brought upon the market.' This object they all eagerly undertook, and assured me its accomplishment was easy. The moon, however, went her round, waned, and filled again, without one of their engagements being fulfilled, or any of their thunder bringing down rain. When I found the negligence of the slave-dealers, I saw it was 'not every one that lives can read' with them, and that for scratching one's own back, there was nothing like one's own finger-nail. Whereupon, leaving the course of commission, I went to the market with my gold and my silver; and whilst I was inspecting the slaves, and inquiring their prices, there met me a person muffled up to the eyes, and holding by the elbow a youth, of whom he was giving a metrical description:—

'Who buys my boy, my clever boy, that's nothing left to learn in?
In form and feature, see how rare—in merit how discerning.
Whate'er the load that blocks his road, he's always room to turn in;
He speaks to please, he hears to mark, whatever it's concerning.
He's always ready if you trip, to say, "God bless the morning;"
Bid him in fire to toil and tire, he never heeds its burning.
Be to him kind, and he'll repay your patronage discerning;
Or bid him shift on broken thrift, there's nought you'll find him spurning.
His mind is rich in every lore, each effort he is stern in.
He never uttered ought untrue, or took a false adorning;
He never followed out desire, where duty urged returning;
Nor ever made a secret known, that once he had concern in.
And then, with all his excellence, in what regards his learning,
His prose is copious, and his rhymes, he's famed for sweetly turning.
By Allah! if the wants of life would bear the least adjourning—
If children could be fed and clothed with nothing else but learning,
The wealth of kings, compared to him, were hardly worth the earning.'

"When I considered his graceful form and enchanting beauty," continues Háris bin Hammám, "I thought him one of the children of Paradise the happy. 'This is no human being,' I exclaimed, 'but an angel of light?' I inquired of him his name—not so much from any wish to know it, as to ascertain how far his language corresponded with his appearance, but he answered nothing, sweet or bitter, nor uttered a word, generous or ignoble; on which I slapped his face, and accused him of abominable dulness. On this he burst out into laughter, shielding himself the while, and shaking his head at me, recited these lines:

> 'You strike me to find out my name—it hardly suits your dealing;
> A Joseph I, if speak I must, at least in form and feeling,
> And now if aught remains concealed—'tis not of my concealing.'

"Soothed and enlivened by his poetry, I suffered my judgment to be perverted, and lost all recollection of his Joseph or my own. My only anxiety now was to conclude the purchase, and ascertain the price which I was resolved to pay. Here I expected the old man would eye me warily, and raise the price upon me; but he did not fix where I fixed, nor fasten as I anticipated. On the contrary, his words were these: 'When a slave's price is low, and his acquirements moderate, he is a Godsend to his master whose regards are thus fixed on him. Now I would rather give you the slave than reduce the price I put on him; so weigh me out, if you please, 200 dinárs, and be thankful to me as long as you live.' On this I paid him the money, with the celerity of one who seizes an article that is underpriced, not thinking of the proverb—What is underpriced is always expensive. When the bargain was concluded, and the time for separation arrived, the youth's eyes gushed out with the tears of affliction, and going up to his master he repeated these lines:

> 'Ah! God reprove thy wayward love—and is it me you sell,
> To still thy craving appetite, that hunger bids rebel?
> Say, is it fair, of such a pair, as we have ever been,
> That I should writhe in stripes and strokes, while you in comfort dwell?
> With dread on dread where'er I tread, to struggle as I may,
> And feel the spirit throb and thrill, that nought can wholly quell?
> Hast thou not tried me, tried me long, and weighed to every grain
> The pureness of fidelity, where falsehood cannot dwell?
> Oft have you bid me watch the snare, and found when you returned,
> The prey you sought, entrapped and caught, by my resistless spell?
> The wasting strife that preys on life, 'twas mine to calm and soothe,
> And mine to dare forbidden paths where daring was not well:
> What words of scorn have I not borne? what obloquy defied?
> What path of pain, when thine the gain, to me the labour fell!

Time's course has flown, and never shown the action you could blame,
One faulty deed, on which your eye could e'er with justice dwell.
Praise be to God, you never trod, throughout our mutual way,
The path of danger when 'twas mine that danger to foretell.
Yet still you coldly banish me, and throw me from your hand,
As artisan the useless shreds that litter round his cell.
Why, deign my lone and lowly way to comfort and instruct?
And bring me forth, without a sigh, like some vile ware to sell,
Resign a youth, ah! such a youth as none but you can tell?'

"The sweetness of these lines was not lost on the old man. He sighed deeply, and wept like a father in the days of separation. 'This boy,' he said to me, 'I treat as my son, and distinguish him not from the scion of my own race; and but for my house being empty and my torch extinguished, he should never leave my hut till he carried me forth to the grave. You see what he suffers at leaving me, and the proverb says, The gentle dealer is ever the true believer, would you then soothe his affliction, and dissipate his grief, by agreeing to annul the sale when I require it, and not to oppose my offers when I am in a condition to make them? We have it in our choicest traditions and most esteemed compilations,—Him who releases a reluctant man from his engagements, God will release from his transgressions.' On this," says Háris bin Hammám, "I gave the promise, that compunction extorted and my heart belied. The boy then approached him, and kissed him between the eyes, the tears gushing from his own as he repeated these lines:

'Since part we must, this faithful heart shall evermore adore thee,
And court the weight of every ill, which fate may gather o'er thee;
Then go in peace, and Heaven shall speed the moments that restore thee,
When thou wilt hail, ah! wilt thou not? the eyes that still adore thee;
Go, then, in peace; where'er you go, God's blessing go before thee.'

"'Farewell,' said the elder, 'I commit thee to him that is the best of masters;' and with these words he gathered up his robe and turned away. For nearly a mile the boy continued his sobs and exclamations; at length, mastering his grief, and checking the tears that rolled, he said, 'Know you for whom I weep, and what it is I lament?' 'Doubtless,' I replied, 'it is parting with your master that occasions your tears.' 'Oh, no,' said he; 'this is a valley—there stand you, and here stand I, but you must win me before you wear me.

I weep not, God wot, for the friend that I leave,
It is not for vanished enjoyment I grieve;
The tears on my cheek you may chance to perceive,
I shed for the dupe whom his eyes can deceive,

And plunge in confusion he scarce can retrieve,
Of wits and of money at once to bereave.
Out on thee, vain man! could you fail to perceive
That graces like mine are not sold without leave?'

"This discourse I received for banter, and considered it a jest, till he took up the resolution of one who assumes a right, and cast off the guise of slavery as it were a slough. On this we fell into altercation that came near to blows, and brought us to the seat of litigation.

"When we explained the matter to the kazi, and quoted our respective texts, his answer was this: 'Say we not, I pray you, To caution others is to excuse one's self. To warn is to declare, and to point out is to satisfy. Now, from your own words, it is clear that this youth advised you, and you marked him not; counselled you, and you did not attend. It were wiser, then, to cloak and conceal your foolishness, for it is yourself, and not him, you have to blame. Beware of molesting him or claiming him as a slave, for he is free and independent, not needing the support of any. It was but yesterday his father brought him here, when the sun was near to set, and recorded his acknowledgment of him as his son, whom he had nurtured, and his only heir.' 'And know you him?' inquired I of the kazi—'this father, whom God confound?' 'Is it possible,' said he, 'not to know Abuzeid, whose audacity is so determined, and of whom every kazi has stories to relate and judgments to record?'

"At this I was ashamed and incensed, and recovered from my delusion but too late. It was clear that his muffler was a cord of his trap—a couplet of his song. My eye sunk under the burden of my wrong, and I inwardly swore never to deal with a muffled man as long as I lived. Nor did I intermit my ejaculations at the loss of my bargain, and my discredit among friends, till the kazi, observing my anger and irritation, endeavoured to console me: 'My friend,' said he, 'money is not lost which has bought you experience; nor does that man wrong you who sharpens your perceptions. So, take warning from what has befallen you, and conceal your loss from your associates, and never forget that you have suffered in your eagerness to purchase to advantage. So, take up the feeling of one who has profited by patience, and who has derived benefit by an accession of knowledge.'

"At this I took my leave, and put on the guise of shame and sorrow, encumbered with a train of mortification and deceit. I then vowed to evince my aversion to Abuzeid, and to treat him with hostility to the end of time. So I made it my practice to avoid his

house, and to turn aside whenever I saw him; till once on a time he came upon me suddenly in a narrow lane, and saluted me with an air of easy familiarity. I returned it by a frown, without saying a word. 'What mean you,' asked he, 'by turning up your nose at an old associate?' I asked him if he had forgot the shameless fraud he had practised on me, but he only laughed in my face, and then addressed me in these lines:

> 'Oh! thou whose face is full of grace, to save us all from falling,
> And, sooth to say, whose tongue can pray with censure most appalling.
> What, sell a freeman! Goodman cries, like any beast a stall in?
> Good sooth restrain that righteous vein, nor torture me with brawling.
> The sires of old, who Joseph sold, were patrons of my calling,
> And now I swear by yonder sphere, in which the sun is rolling,
> And planets there with flaming hair that never dream of falling,
> While I've a piece to keep me straight you'll never find me crawling,
> So deem me better than I seem, and spare thy useless brawling.'

"'As for my apology,' he proceeded, 'you see it is made, and as for your money, why it is spent. If, then, your indignation and horror proceed from excess of affection for your remaining cash, I ask whether you are likely to be stung twice at the same hole, or to tread on the hot coal a second time? If, on the other hand, it is to rescue what has come to my net, that you nurture your resentment and encourage your parsimony, why you ought to weep for the weakness of your own understanding.'

"Thus it was," says Háris bin Hammám, "that his seductive tongue and irresistible magic compelled me to re-enter into his society, though well acquainted with his habits and character, and to cast his transgressions behind me and forget them."

Art. XV.—*History of Tennasserim, by* Captain James Low, *Madras Army,* M.R.A.S., &c. &c.

(*Continued from* p. 164.)

CHAPTER XIV. (*concluded.*)

JOURNEY FROM TAVOY TO MARTABAN.

The route to Martaban had not before this period been explored by Europeans, nor frequented by the natives since 1810, when an army marched by it on the way to attack Junk-Ceylon; and a dread of the Siamese had caused it to be almost abandoned by the subjects of his Burman Majesty. To ascertain the nature of the intervening country seemed desirable, as well in a geographical light, as on account of the interest which it would claim in the event of the new conquests being permanently retained by the British. Most of the baggage, and the sick, were sent off by sea. My escort consisted of a native officer, two non-commissioned officers, and eighteen sepoys, two interpreters, two guides, four servants, and about 100 followers, to carry baggage and provisions; which, however, were found inadequate afterwards, so that more were hired at Yea.

March 25*th*, 1825.—We left Tavoy at mid-day in open boats, and were hurried rapidly up the river by the tide. It left us at Yebyú, a small village on the west bank, where chillies are the chief objects of culture. Found much difficulty in landing my horse, the banks being from fifteen to twenty feet high, and the breaks in it muddy.

26*th.*—Wombo was the next stage. Here are a few miserable huts, romantically situated. The current was so strong that we could not get under weigh until next day's tide. We were half suffocated with heat in the wretched hovel which sheltered us from the direct rays of the sun. Thermometer here at 90°

27*th.*—Three hours' rowing brought us to Chea-kaung Stockade, which guards a very narrow passage in the river. We had not seen a hut during this day's rowing, and the river-banks were covered with thick and high jungle. Several rocks were observed in the river.

A herd of wild buffaloes passed across the stream during the night. Several shots were fired at them, and one dropped, to the satisfaction of all parties, as salt fish was the only sort of food brought by the people.

The tide only reaches a few hundred yards beyond this narrow

passage, and the river is not navigable to boats further, excepting when the stream is swollen by the monsoon rains. The general breadth of its bed is fifty yards on an average. Captain Read, of a Rangoon transport-ship, who had obliged me by accompanying me so far, now set off on his return to Tavoy.

28th.—Crossed the river, and walked over a difficult country clothed with bamboo and other jungle, and much intersected by rugged nullahs, dry, for the most part, at this season. Observed one stockade on the way, lying on the west bank. It is built of upright trunks of trees, ten feet high, and is a square of twenty paces. Reached *Heinje* stockade after a hot march. Crossed over to it, the stream being twenty-four paces wide and knee deep; but the channel is 290 *yards* wide. The distance gone to-day nine and a quarter miles. *Heinje* stockade was in good preservation, and resembled those already noticed; it is a square of forty paces. I could not gain a view above 300 yards on any side.

29th.—The heat of the weather increased, but I had no option as to the line of marching, since it would have been impossible to advance through thick jungle by an intricate and half obliterated track before day-light. The mercury at seven, A.M., showed 74° of temperature. Set off at a quarter past nine, and having marched rather more than seven miles, found ourselves at Kalíng-aung stockade. This place has been formerly noticed as having been, according to tradition, the site of a town which was built by a colony from Pegu. Not a vestige of such now remains, unless an old and small pagoda, called Heinze, surmounting a hill, and some ruins to the northward, as was reported afterwards, may be considered as favouring the tradition.

Kalíng-aung stockade was a frontier Burman post to prevent the Siamese descending the river, which in the rainy season can be done in boats with amazing rapidity. It was then in good repair, and very defensible against native troops[1]. It was placed at an inner bend of the river—here very deep for some distance beyond both of its flanks. The country around is a valley about three miles wide, but quite waste; not an inhabitant appeared. On entering the stockade, however, one good thatched cottage was found; its owners had fled, leaving nothing but their rice, salt, and putrid balachong behind. These poor people were perhaps elephant-hunters. Some oranges, limes, papayas, and jacks, were procured from the trees which grew inside.

[1] It would appear that some fire which had been left by my people after cooking had, subsequent to our leaving the place, set the long grass in a blaze, by which the stockade was burned down.

30th.—Crossed the river six furlongs and a half above the stockade.

I was enabled to mount my horse at intervals during this day's march. Having halted at sun-rise to observe the bearing of a peak, a thin smoke attracted my attention, as it arose from an oval plain, called En Byen bien; receiving no satisfactory reply to my inquiries at my guides, I pulled off my shoes and waded through a deep slough to the brink of a pool in the midst of the plain, when I found my conjecture, as to its being a hot spring, realized.

The pool is 40 feet in diameter, being nearly a circle, and is, apparently, (for the ground being level, it could not be very distinctly seen,) of great depth. Water taken from the middle, where the bubbling was most violent, was found to raise Fahrenheit's thermometer to 104°.

There are no hills very close to this well, nor any volcanic appearances. Several rocky low hills in the vicinity have a scorched aspect, but they are chiefly composed of granite, which, by exposure, gains a blackish hue.

Advanced only seven miles and a quarter to-day, as the porters complained that their loads galled them. Got under cover of high trees on the banks of the Indaraja-cahaung, or Eintayasa-kyaung, a small stream. This place was once inhabited, but is now a desert. The thermometer at four, P.M., at 92°.

31st.—The extreme heat of the weather after eight o'clock in the morning, made me attempt to march at four, A.M., this day. As I suspected would be the case, the guides lost the direction, and we had to wait patiently on the ground until day-light. We then pushed on fast over a more open jungle than hitherto—crossed many nullahs, both dry and muddy, but without seeing any habitation, or any sign of the track being inhabited, and halted at ten, A.M., (after having advanced eleven miles,) at a place called Mentha-chakhan (chakhan, means a stage,) on the banks of the Mendai Kyaung river, now only yielding a scanty supply of bad water.

We found no drinkable water during the whole of this march, and the grass was quite parched up. A red tulip-looking flower, called *Paine,* seemed the only plant not affected by the heat; numbers shot up amongst the withered grass and leaves; this flower is eaten by the Burmans in curry; it may be found in their bazaars amongst the numerous kinds of esculent plants, leaves, buds, and roots, and several of the mushroom tribe, which these curious people substitute for regular horticultural productions.

I had much difficulty in procuring grass for my horse during the whole way, from Kalíng-aung to Yea. He subsisted on little else for

some days than the green leaves of the dwarf bamboo, and a feed of rice in the husk. The bamboos entwined so low and closely overhead, that riding could but rarely be attempted.

April 1st.—Marched at six, A.M., temperature of the air, 68°. Advanced over an uneven and jungly country, but more open than the preceding route, crossing in the way many brackish nullahs, or streams, from which I concluded that the sea was about ten or fifteen miles distant. After twelve miles, got into a valley covered with long grass, bearing recent marks of herds of elephants, and tracks of other wild animals.

The parched country seemed now to have been left behind, and we continued our journey under cover of tall shady trees, a great relief at the time. At eleven o'clock, halted on the bank of a broad nullah (no name), which was found by the perambulator to be fourteen miles and a half from our last stage.

2nd.—Marched at six, A.M. Temperature of air 66°. After a fatiguing journey of nine miles and a half, over a very rugged country, and then down a defile formed by the Mayí river, we reached Papengwén, (or Papenkwen, meaning a jungly spot cleared by a chief,) which is merely an open space left in the forest.

3rd.—At day-light, pushed on; crossed the Wa-chaung, a rapid stream having a rocky bed. At six, A.M., its waters were at a temperature of 70½°, while that of the air was 63°. Winding then down the valley, we had to pass this stream seven times, and descended a rugged pass, and then through a narrow valley, where the Sakhang gyí kyaung, a rapid stream, winds[1]. This had to be crossed five several times. The day becoming very warm, we halted, after walking nine miles and a half, at an old stockade, called Sa Kangí, on the bank of a small stream; some small fry were got out of the pools which the drought had yet left; the water was found to be good. The stockade took fire during the day and was burned down; it was made of bamboos and other very combustible materials, and probably caught fire from some cooking place, as the Burmans were very careless. Went on in the evening three miles further, to Killa kyaung nullah. Next day set off at day-light, with the mercury at 64°. Observed many of that species of tree called Thérén, or Thenyen thí, bearing a nut or bean, used in medicine by the Burmans; it is said to bear a white flower. The red bark of the Chekkha, another tree found here, is used as a febrifuge and as a dye.

A short march of four miles and three quarters brought me to Yea[2].

[1] A large town stood formerly at the mouth of this river.

[2] The new boundary of Yea and Tavoy is Pautten kyaung.

This town is the chief, or rather the only one of a provinee so called. A description has been given of it elsewhere[1].

I ascended the Yea river until my canoe went aground on a gravelly bottom; here was observed a Karean village. There are several patches of stunted teak-trees on the banks of the river, and also N. W. from Yea.

8th.—Left Yea, and soon entered the interminable jungle. Having passed an outpost, and proceeded five miles (from Yea), we got under such cover as was procurable for the night; no houses or inhabitants appeared; the water was good.

9th.—Set off at day-light. The temperature of the air 66°. Three miles on, found a guard at the most northerly outpost, at the Awein river, where had formerly stood a stockade. The river Awein was nearly dry; the pools remaining in it contained bad water, but by digging in the sand of its bed, good water was obtained. This remark is applicable to all the dry beds of the rivers on this route, which were not affected by the sea. Had to halt at a muddy nullah for several hours, until a bridge was constructed to get my horse across. The Burmans cut down trees on both banks, so as that they fell across the stream; and over these, bamboos and branches being laid, a passage for him was effected. Halted at Papengwen[2], the distance gone over being eleven miles and a quarter. Still a dense forest.

10th.—Marched at half-past five, A.M. The temperature of the air 69°. Crossed several nullahs, nearly dry. Found the Chekkha tree growing abundantly—it had no flower. Its bark is of a dark reddish colour, like that of cinchona, and possesses considerable astringency; from this last quality, the poorer Burmans use it instead of gambír in the betel masticatory preparation; it is also a dye. Observed several pools of water, where wild ducks, gigantic ciruses, having much red about their heads, and other water fowl, were eontending for the scanty supply of fish they contained. Had much difficulty in eutting passages through rattan brakes, which evinced to me that this route had not been travelled over for many years[3]; several of these brakes were two, and even three hundred yards broad. Even after having cleared a path, our clothes were torn to pieces by the long tendrils of the rattans, which have hooked thorns.

[1] Vol. II. p. 264.

[2] The second place of this name.

[3] My Burmans informed me that it had scarcely ever been frequented since the Burman General Taignún, the Daiwún, or Viceroy, marched over it when sent to attack Junk-ceylon, for the last time, in 1810. On this occasion he had a body of 800 pioneers.

The Burmans come up the deepest nullahs from the sea to catch the Kaboos fish, or Ngayan, with which the pools in this track abound. These they salt and take to Martaban.

Halted at Wekanan Chakhan, after a tedious march of ten miles and a quarter. The greatest heat of the day during these marches, was about 93°. We were obliged to dig for water in the dry bed of a river, first through sand, then a stratum of blue clay, and got some of an indifferent quality at the depth of five feet[1].

11th.—Marched at six o'clock, A.M. The temperature of the air 67°. Had again to halt frequently, to cut passages through rattan brakes. Crossed many nullahs—observed no traces of recent inhabitants, but several paths of the wood-cutters who ascend the Krung kúh river: they float the timber which they cut to the sea; there is no teak in this exact track. It was past eleven o'clock, and we had only got on ten miles and three quarters, but the heat of the sun compelled a halt at a place called Bálamein, which is a broad stream flowing through a high forest. It is only worth noticing as being the boundary betwixt Yea and Martaban.

12th.—Thermometer at 69° at sun-rise. Greatest heat during the day, 91°. The porters being fagged, and fever having attacked me and several of my party, we made a short march of four miles and a quarter, and halted at Hné kyaung river, and pitched our bivouac on a fine spot on the bank of the stream. This is one of the best halting places on the route, being in a grove of tall trees; the river is thirty yards wide, and is not affected by the tide as far as could be perceived.

13th.—Thermometer at six o'clock, 72°. Passed over a still jungly country, but well supplied with slips of meadow-ground, on which were luxuriant crops of grass; but no human habitation was to be seen. Large herds of wild cattle (bovine), crossed our route; a few musket shots were fired, and a fine cow was brought down; it was in beautiful, sleek, plump condition; the Sepoys and Burmans cut it up in a few minutes, and each took his share, not a very large one however; but the Burmans, who are not fond of cow's flesh, were soon enabled to suit their taste in a better manner, for we had not advanced a couple of hundred yards when the carcass of an elk, yet warm, was found in the middle of the path; it had just been killed by a tiger, and about one-third of it had been devoured. The Sepoys would not touch it, to the great joy of the Burmans, who soon pocketed their shares, and would have done so, had the

[1] This river is termed Klung kron river. Some traces of cultivation having once been employed here appeared. A few jack-trees were observed.

animal died a natural death, and been perfectly game-flavoured. A march, in all, of about eight miles and a half, brought us to Welaup, at some muddy pools, which were so full of fish, that the Burmans killed numbers with their long knives. Good water was procured from a Karean village, about two miles to the eastward; the people ran away on our approach; the outposts of the Siamese army, then lying above Wakrú, saw some of the Sepoys, and fled to the main body. The white crocus-flowered plant, before noticed, was very abundant, and gave some variety to the occasional grassy plains, at this season bare of vegetation. Some traces of cultivation having many years ago been carried on, appeared in this direction.

14*th.*—Marched nine miles and a half to-day, over a country very similar to the last day's route. Sickness compelled me to have a litter made of bamboos; two Burmans carried me pretty quickly, being relieved by others every half mile. The halting place is on the East bank of the Krung Klok hla river; the water is good; this river is twenty yards wide, and the jungle is very thick, and high all around.

15*th.*—Marched eight miles and a half across a dry and jungly country, when some small pagodas and a stockade, showed that we were close to Wakru, or Wagru; to this last place, we found it ten miles and seven furlongs from the last halting place. Wakru was formerly a large village enclosed by a stockade, and is said to have been the first place in Martaban province, which was occupied by the Món race; the Siamese burned it, and carried off the inhabitants, when the Burman and British war had commenced; all was now desolate. A deep river seemed to stop our further progress, and my guides declared that they did not know the road; I immediately directed some old houses to be pulled to pieces, intending to construct a raft to send down the river, and then up to Martaban to procure a guide and supplies, which were becoming scarce; a small reconnoitreing party was sent to explore the course towards its mouth. Next day, this doubtful resource was agreeably rendered unnecessary, by my Sepoys having caught several Peguers at a well in the jungle; these poor people had formed part of the inhabitants of Wakru, and had escaped from the Siamese; they said that part of the Siamese army was then in the neighbourhood, close to our route. I did not, however, see any of them, and was not particularly desirous at this time of meeting any of their troops, as I was not aware of their exact feelings towards the British at this period. One of these men became our guide.

19*th.*—Leaving with joy our hot quarters, for we had neither

trees nor houses to shelter us, our guide led us high up the river, over rugged stony tracks, covered with stunted trees, chiefly balsamic, with broad leaves, and gum-bearing ones. We halted at Krung Kwan hla, a rocky bed of a torrent, coming from a low North and South range of hills.

20th.—A very rugged, stony, and winding route. Crossed many channels of hilly torrents, with pools of brackish water; the country dry, and covered with stunted jungle. The sun being very oppressive, got for shelter into the bed of a narrow rocky ravine, partly shaded by scraggy shrubs. The distance by the road was found to be eleven miles and three furlongs; but, probably, it is only about ten in a direct line.

21st.—The country this day improved much; grassy plains and a fertile soil succeeding the sterility of the tracks previously gone over; here rice cultivation was once extensively carried on before Siamese inroad induced almost a total depopulation of the country on the East bank of the Martaban river. Observed a high wooden monastery on the bank of the Hle chak, a narrow deep stream.

Passing over the plain, large herds of buffaloes were seen, but no villages appeared; the natives let their cattle loose during the dry season, and retire to the towns. At ten miles and four furlongs, reached the temple and monastery, called Chait Sa-pheung hnok; long ago deserted, and in a ruinous condition; and at ten miles five furlongs, we reached Kangí, which must have been a place of note once, for several pagodas and extensive monasteries yet remain; a small lake of pure water reflects these mouldering temples; a large town must have once stood here. This place is, of course, within the British territory; it swarms with small alligators, and fish of a golden colour. The waters of this lake are deemed sacred, and it is said that phials of it were annually conveyed to Amerapúra, for the royal family. Many beautiful alabaster and gilded images of Buddha, were lying or piled in confusion, in the temple which afforded me shelter for the night; this temple stands on wooden posts, over a shallow part of the lake. We had a heavy shower during the night, the first indication of the approaching monsoon.

22nd.—A hot march of fourteen miles, over an open country, having a deep rich soil, but seemingly wholly neglected, brought me at eleven o'clock to a shady grove. The water on the plain is not good, being brackish. Close to the grove was a horde or family of Kareans, who had come from a distance to prepare the fields for rice; they were about 200 in number, of all ages and both sexes; they had built forty low huts on a rising ground, and had thatched them

with grass. I got here, for the first time since leaving Yea, some ducks and fowls. This tribe of Kareans is fair; the women are generally robust, but have delicate skins, and the whole of the little society, unsettled as they appeared, were yet evidently contented, and provided with whatever came within their notions of comfort and luxury; they were, moreover, independent in a great degree, caring little for the Burmans.

23rd.—A march of eight miles over an open country, fit for rice cultivation, during which, a few Karean hamlets, just erected, appeared, brought me to the East bank of the Great Martaban river, and in the evening I had the pleasure to receive there a kind reception from the officers of the 3rd Madras Native Infantry, and the highly desirable aid of a medical person.

The road distances, and those by water, from Tavoy to Martaban, were found as follows :—

	Miles.	Fur.
Computed distance by the river from Tavoy to Chea Kaung Stockade, where navigation ceases in the dry season.—Statute miles, - - . - - -	45	0
Hence to Kalíng Aung, - - - -	15	3
From Kalíng Aung to Yea, - - - - -	61	0
From Yea to Wakrú Stockade, and River, - -	68	4
Thence to the bank of the Sanlún river, - - -	54	6½
Across it to Martaban, - - - - -	1	1½
Total Statute Miles - - -	245	7

The stages may seem short, but no one who has not passed through a hilly, rugged, and jungly country, without regular roads, can properly determine what distance ought to form a day's journey.

THE MARTABAN RIVERS.

May 26th, 1825.—The monsoon being expected to begin early in the ensuing month, I determined to employ the intermediate time in exploring the branches of the Martaban river. The Atthíyan branch has been casually noticed in the description given in another place of the Seinle daung Ye bú, or hot fountain. This branch has become, since the period I alluded to, of great importance to the British, as it is included in the ceded possessions, and is, besides, the channel by which perhaps the speediest intercourse may be held with the Siamese. It leads to the Phra Sam Chu Pagodas, which are situated in a pass, which may be termed the key to Siam in this direction. It is not, however, navigable so far up, or to within a less distance than three days' journey from the two Pagodas.

The central branch, called Gyein Chaung, demands attention from the fertile but neglected country through which it flows.

The whole of the ceded territory northwards from the first ranges of hills, and from Kangí, is admirably fitted for every species of tropical production. The inhabitants were, when I explored it, chiefly Kareans; but there cannot be a doubt that when old Martaban shall witness its aspiring rival, Amherst Town, on the east bank, crowded with emigrants from all parts of Pegu, the face of the country will assume the cultivated aspect it once bore.

It was necessary for me to keep my movements concealed, for the Burman maywun, Uzina, of Martaban, was stockaded only forty miles from the town, as he might have tried to intercept my party. The preparations, however, which I had to make, disclosed at the least my intention of being longer absent than usual. Upon my return I learned that my movements had been reported in different quarters, and that it was concluded we had been cut off or made prisoners by the enemy.

Only four canoes could be procured for the excursion; these were partly covered in with palm-leaves, and they were capable of containing ten men each; there was hardly space to sit upright below the coverings; one canoe held myself, a sepoy, an interpreter, and five Burman boatmen, with light baggage; another was commanded by the cook; and the remaining two held the baggage, guard of eight sepoys, and my servants. Fifteen days' provisions were put on board the boats.

May 26th.—Sailed this afternoon at two o'clock, and was much gratified by the appearance of the country, as we were carried rapidly up by the tide, assisted by expert rowers. Passed several small villages and pagodas, and then the Pegu creek, by which, in the rainy season, boats can descend towards Pegu. This creek is properly a distinct river, from a branch of which a cut or natural canal, termed Kyaup chirré Khyaung, leads to a river, termed Daun wain Khyaung. A large population of Kareans inhabits the banks of the Daung dami Khyaung, the name of the principal or east branch of the Pegu creek. These people cultivate black pepper, indigo, and cotton, and they collect the cardamoms and other products of the woods. Joegabén, on the British side, was once considered the focus of this tribe, but it has been nearly deserted from dread of the Siamese. The people will likely soon return to collect the wax found on the rocky hills there, and to re-assume their other rural occupations.

Passed Joegabén taung, a precipitous limestone rock; the pre-

cipices are streaked red by, perhaps, oxide of iron; on a pinnacle of the rock stands a small white pagoda, visible from Martaban when the sun shines. The height of this rock I judged to be 900 feet.

About sun-set, or after four hours' rowing, we landed at a newly built Karean village, called Tunyíncha. The villagers informed me that the ravages which the cholera had made amongst them had urged them to emigrate from a spot higher up the river. This disease, they informed me, had been very long known to them; as they have no medicines of any real efficacy, few survive an attack of it; they trust to incantations. I observed on the ground a sort of labyrinth formed of bamboo twigs, which they said was the magical space within which their patients had to rest while some one, more knowing than his brethren, muttered over him a few incoherent sentences, to drive away the obnoxious demon.

The oldest man in the village said that his age amounted to ninety-five years; but this I could not be assured of, since these poor people do not write, and only mark the lapse of time by accidental changes of abode, or by prominent occurrences in their uneventful history; such as the dread of attacks from the Karjén ní, or red Kareans, who live on the Yunzalen Khyaung, far to the northward—the failure of crops—success in hunting, &c. &c.

Going into one of their huts, I found the family at dinner around a large platter filled with broth, composed of fish, pulse, and roots, and seasoned with salt and chilli. Each person had a dish of rice before him or her, and they all helped themselves to the broth by means of a wooden spoon placed in it. They eat with their fingers when they cannot get the small China-ware spoons used by the Burmans and Peguers. I observed several river turtles, which were kept for the next day's dinner of the fortunate fishers. They train their dogs to search out the various kinds of tortoises which abound in the woods. The barking of the dogs discovers the game to their masters.

27th.—Sailed at mid-day with the tide. Heavy masses of clouds now indicated the breaking up of the fine weather, and just as we got within sight of Shrukla strait, below which the river is broad, a severe squall, with thunder and heavy rain, drove my canoe into the shallows on the left bank. Two boats full of men shot rapidly towards us from the opposite bank. My guards and the other boats being far in the rear, I did not feel quite comfortable, apprehending that these might be some of the Maywun Uzina's people. I had scarcely time to get out my double-barrel, to prevent if possible too close an advance, when they were alongside, and informed me that they were people appointed by the head man of the

Lagun village to guard this pass, in name of the *Engliet,* as they termed us—their services being gratuitous.

The Shrukla is a very narrow strait, formed by the extremity of a range of rugged hills on the east, and a high rock on the west, termed Sagat taung. Something resembling an inscription on the face of the rock attracted my attention, and I was now in hope of finding a clue to the ancient history of the country. But I was disappointed, for, on landing, the appearance was found to arise from a number of minute and gilded earthenware idols, arranged in rows on ledges cut into the face of the rock. I cannot here refrain from expressing my doubts of the existence of any written documents or inscriptions of much value to the antiquarian, or even historian, amongst the Indo Chinese nations. Their literature was borrowed, and they had no indigenous character, in so far as research has yet enabled us to judge of, by which to transmit their *earliest* deeds to posterity. Dr. Leyden was of opinion that ancient inscriptions exist, but he was not so fortunate as to be supplied with facts to support the opinion, while the term ancient is often a relative one, and ought, as far as Ava and Pegu are concerned, to have reference to periods antecedent to the introduction of Buddhism to these countries.

The Burman inscriptions found in Martaban are in the Pali, or else in the proper Burman character, and they are very rarely found on stone. Their great bells are covered with descriptions of the periods when they were cast, and the pious individuals by whom they were consecrated, and hung up in the courts of the temples[1]. The only inscription deserving of notice, which fell within my observation, is the comparatively recent one which commemorates the actions of the renowned Along Phra or Alompra. It was extant on a fine white marble slab, four feet four inches high, three feet four inches broad, and five inches thick, which that conqueror placed in the court of the ancient Shúí Madu pagoda at Pegu. It was protected

[1] The embassy to Ava in 1826-7, discovered "no less than sixty inscriptions on sandstone at Pugan, where are the ruins of the ancient capital of that name, and including Sakaing and other places, in all not less than 330; and the king had collected at the great Arracan temple, near Amerapoora, from various parts of the country, no less than 260 such monuments. A few of these are on fine white marble, but the greater number are on sandstone. These stones resemble those placed at the heads of graves in England. Some of the inscriptions are in the round Bali character, and others in the Burman, but most in the former. They all contain dates, and generally the name of the reigning king, with references to some historical event. But the chief object is to commemorate the founding of some temple or monastery."—*Journal of Science and Arts, &c.*

by a shed from the weather, and looked as fresh as if it had been but very recently erected.

The hurried nature of my visit to Pegu prevented me taking a complete copy of this record. My interpreter read it over in my presence, from which I learned that it contains a long religious preface; after which it records that Nemiyu Dumre Chaung yaung Pherúí (*i. e.* Alompra) repaired the great temple, hung up bells, and performed other pious actions. And that, to commemorate these deeds, " this stone has been set up on the 14th day of the month Thakú, in the year 1155" [A.D. 1793].

The materials of which the public edifices amongst the Indo Chinese nations are almost invariably constructed, are of a perishable nature. They are of soft, friable stone, or of brick and mortar and wood. The bricks are badly cemented, sometimes with mud only; and when they use lime it is also badly mixed up. Inscriptions cannot, therefore, be looked for on such buildings. The practice of burning the dead renders the Buddhists indifferent to the erection of stone monuments over tombs. The Chinese ideas on the latter subject may be considered an exception, as they raise expensive stone monuments, covered with epitaphs, over the remains of their relatives and great men. But the Chinese are not real Buddhists, for their minds are imbued with superstitions which they derived from a different fountain than that from which the dogmas of Fo, Pho, or their Buddha, flowed to them.

My disappointment in not finding the expected inscription at Sagat taung was in some degree compensated for by the discovery of a grand cave in that rocky hill. It is evidently a natural one, for no pillars have been left to support the roof, and the process by which it was probably hollowed out seems yet slowly going on—a gradual decay in the rock, which is principally composed of limestone, of primary formation, apparently.

This cave is 240 feet in depth, by an average breadth of fifty feet; its height varies from twenty to thirty feet. Attached to the walls and roof are massy concretions of calcareous spar; several large brick images, plastered over and representing Buddha, stand at the door, and a multitude of alabaster, and almost wholly decayed lesser images of the same deified mortal, stand along the bottom at the sides of the cave, and in recesses in the different parts of the rock. It was impossible to continue above a few minutes at a time in this cave, owing to the stench arising from the soil of bats, which lay a foot thick on most parts of the floor.

I could not obtain any satisfactory account of this cave from

several priests whom I met at Lagun village, lying just opposite. These were Burman, not Pegu priests, which accounts for their ignorance. I could not help reflecting on the want of imagination shown in the decoration of this cave. Here the living marble was bared to the sculptor's chisel, so that, with little more labour than he had to bestow in framing the detached statues, he might have peopled the cave with giant deities.

Having satisfied curiosity, we pushed up the river, but at a slower rate than usual, for the tide had hardly any influence at this distance from the sea; the boats kept close along the west bank; we passed several islands, and soon landed for an hour at a Karean village on the east bank. The people were bartering their coarse cloth, tobacco, and cotton, for the rice, china-ware, and petty articles of trade which had arrived in a large Martaban boat. On asking for some fowls, at the usual price, the alarm spread amongst the women, who tried to catch their favourite "matrons of the roost;" the men placed rows of nooses on the ground, and then drove the poultry towards them; by this plan, in a few minutes, a sufficient number were snared by the legs. I would recommend this expeditious method to a traveller in some parts of India, where he will find it no easy task sometimes to catch a fowl for his dinner. They asked six rupees for a dozen of fowls, which is about thrice the rate which they may be bought for at Penang; but it was a cheap rate compared with that to which we had been accustomed at Rangoon, where, during the war, one fowl has been known to sell for fifteen rupees. The houses of the villagers were high and comfortable; in one of them I observed the mistress and family busied in distilling a spirit from rice.

Taking to our boats, we rowed on; passed several hamlets and ruined pagodas, and then, but not without the utmost exertion of the crews, rounded a rocky point. Went up betwixt the long and fertile island of Ká Thá and the east bank; and, passing some villages, arrived, at four o'clock, P. M., at the chief village of the island. It is called Ká Thá Yuwa. It was a festival day, and the inhabitants of the village, with those of the neighbouring hamlets, were assembled to perform the ceremonies enjoined by their religion. All were gaily dressed, some expensively, in silks.

The mixture which I observed of Món and Karean dresses in several Karean families, was found, upon inquiry, to be owing to several members only of these families having adopted the religion of Buddha, and to the intermarriages which had taken place betwixt the two tribes. Generally it appeared that the Karean women,

whether converts or otherwise, adhered to their own fashions in dress, alleging that the lower garments of the Burman and Peguan fair are not only unbecoming, but indecorous. These assertions are, unluckily, too true.

There was only one priest in the village; he was comfortably lodged and fed. A small cone, about ten feet high, served for a pagoda; opposite to which was a bamboo stage, decorated with flags and burning tapers. The heads of families, as they arrived in small canoes, left the devotional duties to their wives and children; these they gravely performed, although manifestly both alarmed and surprised on seeing me and the Sepoys—beings of whom they had hitherto no idea but that conveyed by report. I could perceive that the moment the women had repeated the confession of faith, and affixed the waxen tapers to the pagoda, the men hurried them off to their canoes. Women are not permitted to touch an image of Buddha.

In the evening an old man led off a party of youths (who had been displaying their agility in a theatrical dance) towards the small pagoda. He sung a solemn song, and danced in slow measure around both the pagoda and stage, followed in succession by his train.

The chief products of this island are cotton, indigo, hemp, and tobacco. But the cultivation is carried on in the most slovenly manner, sharp stakes supplying the want of spades, and thorns of the harrow. Castor, pulse, and yams are also raised.

On the bank opposite to the town were seen the remains of a Siamese stockade, which had been occupied several months before. The people did not complain of any harshness on the part of the Siamese towards them. I can easily account for this lenity; the Siamese know by experience that the Kareans are the only people they have to rely on for certain supplies required while on their expeditions, and that they are a neutral people.

A high rock, termed Míchan taung, lies close in front of Ká Thá, and on the opposite bank of that part of the river. An account of it has been given in another chapter. It is rugged and of difficult ascent. The rock is chiefly a black limestone. It looks as if volcanic fires had scorched it, and in walking up its rugged surface the tread is succeeded by a hollow sound. Here and there are apertures, or natural wells, of considerable depth, with stalactites projecting from their inner surfaces. Descending with an excellent appetite, sharpened by the bleak air on the summit of Míchan taung, breakfast was speedily discussed, and the boats were cast off at eleven

o'clock. Heavy showers announced that the monsoon was at hand; the boatmen never complained of the wetting they got, either at this time or during almost every successive day and night until our return. Put in at several villages, and observed the women busily engaged in dyeing thread, and in weaving; red, blue, and yellow are the favourite colours. Passed several rocky hills, and at half-past two o'clock a high sandbank on the right, where some river-turtles' eggs were procured.

The banks of the river are now wilder, clothed alternately with long grass and jungle; took an hour to row past Utang Ryun, a large narrow island, yielding the same products as Ká Thá; about sun-set anchored under a high bank on the east side; here we found a large Martaban boat full of petty merchandise. Heavy rain fell during the night.

29th.—Cast off at six, A. M. Breakfasted at Shúíken, a Karean village of ten huts; obtained a further supply of fowls; cotton is here the principal article cultivated. Cast off again, and rowed up the left bank; torrents of rain fell, and greatly pitied the Burmans, who had no shelter but their broad-brimmed matted caps. Many boats had been observed going down the river, and, on inquiry, their crews tried to persuade us that the late maywun of Martaban's parties had forced them to fly. We did not see any of these parties, but I did not feel quite secure when we were obliged, by the nature of the river, to bivouac on the west side of the river; for, crowded as my party was in the canoes and under a high bank, we were much exposed to be surprised and cut off in the night, had the enemy really been in the direction of our route. An extensive sandbank on the left, which we reached about one o'clock, enabled me to ascertain pretty nearly the rate at which we had been rowing, and were likely to row. This was done by taking the perambulator on shore, and rowing the boats against it and time.

Against the current, the rate was four miles an hour, throwing out a fraction of 260 yards, to make up for accidental stronger currents. Down the stream the rate was found to be seven miles 220 yards. Had the boats been fully manned, perhaps five miles per hour ascending, and eight, or even nine descending, might have been relied on as the rates. The sand bank was found to be the resort of multitudes of river turtles, which lay their eggs in it.

The river is here divided by a very extensive island, called Thá lúng-sún. We took the East channel, both in ascending and in returning, the other being represented as least frequented, and as being very rapid; had not leisure to ascertain the truth. This

channel is termed Jillur Khyaung; that which we took is broad, perhaps 200 yards across, with occasionally high banks. Observed several deserted villages, where we obtained a few unripe plantains and other fruits. Passed several rocks in the river's bed, and at half-past five o'clock anchored under a high bank on the west shore. Here we had just time to cook and despatch dinner, when the monsoon burst with torrents of rain; the Burmans scooped out holes for themselves in the soft bank, and housed for the night.

30*th.*—Cast off at day-light. Breakfasted at Kyapúng, a Karean village, a quarter of a mile from the East bank. Here, observed many teak-trees, and was informed that we were now in the line of the teak-forest. They have been considerably thinned no doubt. Here again we found a Martaban boat, bartering rice, salt, chillies, raw sugar, balachong, and china ware, &c., for cotton cloths, raw cotton, wax, and tobacco.

Passed up the river, and had, during the day, to force our way against several very strong eddies and rapids. At twenty minutes past two o'clock, cleared Thá-lúng-sún island, and found a fine expanse of water. Got with difficulty past a small rocky island, along which strong currents opposed us, and soon came in sight of the large stockade of Thá Kayet, of which I had not previously had any precise information. The suddenness with which we came within gun-shot of it, was rather startling, considering the smallness of our party. The rowers instinctively lay on their oars, and I examined the place with my glass, but could not perceive any sign that it was occupied. Although aware that this last circumstance does not always, in Burma, indicate an evacuated fortress, yet I made the people advance along the bank, opposite to the stockade, to induce any of the enemy who might be inside, to salute us with a few shots, as is their general custom, so that we should be able to effect our retreat in case they were too numerous for us to oppose. Having met with no interruption, we crossed and found the place unoccupied. This branch of the river (here divided by the island Thá Kayet), is about 200 yards wide. This hold lies on, or covers an angle formed by the junction of the rivers Yúnzalen and Húlú. The Móns term this last Jalo-én. The stockade is an oblong of 190 yards by 87 yards, and is constructed of trunks of trees, firmly sunk in the ground, ten feet being their height above the surface; these are firmly united by cross-beams; a bamboo stage inside supplies the place of a regular banquette; outside are the usual stakes and palisadoes; a deep ditch defends it on the land-side; it was partly dry.

The gateway had been burned down (as I was afterwards informed) by the Siamese, who had stormed and carried this post about the period when the British troops took Martaban. The garrison, it seems, consisted of 300 Burmans and Móns, who made scarcely any defence; they were taken prisoners, and sent to Siam. If they relied on such means of defence as were found in the place by my party, the success of the Siamese cannot be a matter of surprise, even although (as it is affirmed) they, having arrived by land, had to swim across the river to the attack. All along the banquette were baskets containing large rounded pebbles, as large as apples, to be hurled at assailants. An old house, which had once been a priest's, was the only shelter the place afforded; it was open all around, and allowed the rain to beat in, which it did so violently as to drive me to the cover of my canoe.

I was now puzzled which route to pursue; my Burmans had never been here before, and could not inform me which was the main river. We were subsequently, on our returning passage, enabled to detain several canoes, rowed by Kareans, who were descending the Yunzillen river, and from whom I received information of some consequence. They said that two days higher up was a stockaded post, termed Yúnzillen, or Iúnzillún, then occupied by five hundred of the Kayen-ní savages, or red Kareans, who had adhered to the maiwún of Martaban, and that the Yúnzillen river has its source in the Haphun range of hills, which also gives birth to the Sittang [Chetaung] river. These appeared to me to be the same as the range which I observed from the Shúí Madu Pagoda in Pegu to bear as follows,—the northern extremity NNE., the southern extremity E., half point south. They supposed that the Húlú river comes from China; it was therefore necessary to explore both: and as the Húlú was so rapid and muddy as to induce a belief that it arose in the high hills near at hand, while the Yunzillen was clear and deep, seeming to indicate a long course, I chose the latter for the next day's voyage.

May 31*st.*—Set off at five, A.M., but had scarcely rowed, against a strong current, above three hours, when further progress was prevented by a rocky rapid in which our boats were nearly upset, and at last grounded in a shallow. It was evident to me that this was not the main river, so we returned with all speed to Kákayet; here having breakfasted, we again got under way at eleven, A.M., and rowed up the Húlú river.

On clearing Kákayet island, the river was found to be about two hundred yards broad, and from four to five fathoms deep;

but as late rains had somewhat swollen the current, the average depth in general will be less. A low rocky island lies across the river above Kákayet; my boatmen tried to advance, but could not round it, owing to the violence of the current; I therefore landed on it, to observe the appearance of the river on its other side; it was found full of rocks and rapids, and could be traced to where (only at the distance of about 300 yards from us) it rushes impetuously out of a gorge in one of those inferior ranges which run parallel to the great north and south range.

I now urged my boatmen to come round to where I was, that we might make one attempt more to get on; but this was rendered unnecessary by the information I presently obtained from some Kareans, whose canoes shot like shuttles towards us from the gorge; they tried to pass and escape from us, but threats and promises combined brought them to the bank. From them I learned that the Húlú or great Martaban river, (called San-lún lower down,) rises beyong Che-ung Mai; that it is not navigable to canoes above a day or two higher up than where we then were; that a passage can be attempted only in the dry season, when the rapidity of the current abates, and admits canoes to glide through the passages amongst the rocks; that a Laos or Siamese stockade stands about eight or ten days higher up, and on or not far from its east bank; and that Yein-bein forms the boundary betwixt Laos and Ava. They added, that they had gone to cut bamboos, intending to float them down in the shape of rafts, but that they had been obliged, by the strength of the current, and the eddies amongst the rocks, to leave their work unfinished, and escape. The intelligence got from these people was afterwards confirmed by natives of Che-ung Mai. I am therefore convinced that the Martaban river takes its rise to the northward of Che-ung Mai, and that its course south to Kákayet lies in a valley formed by two of the inferior ranges of the great north and south belt, called by the Laos, Dawe Súthep.

There was now no prospect of acquiring further information regarding the country we were in; we had passed the inhabited tracts, and all was forest and mountain before us. The boats were put under way down the channel, on the east side of Kákayet island, and after eighteen hours' brisk rowing, favoured by a rapid current, (exclusive of halts,) we reached Martaban. Upon the whole this river maintains a grand and picturesque character, from its embouchure to the gorge in the hills, from which it pours forth into the plain, a distance of about 130 miles; the water-distance is perhaps 140 miles.

VISIT TO SEINLE DAUNG HOT WELL.

THE Burmans having reported the existence of a hot fountain on the banks of the Atthiyan river, a party was collected, and a small guard of Sepoys was held ready; these being embarked in native boats, we set off rapidly, with the tide in our favour[1].

This fountain has been already described by me, and therefore it will here be only briefly noticed. We reached the Atthiyan stockade, situated on the east bank, and about fifty miles from Martaban. After having breakfasted under a tree, we proceeded through a deep swamp, covered with tall reeds and grass, towards the well; it was found in the centre of an old cocoa-nut grove, which had once shaded a considerable village. The fountain is a circle of about thirty feet in diameter, and of great depth; unfortunately we had no line at hand to sound, having expected to see a hot spring only; but the rocks could be distinctly seen jutting out of the sides at a depth of twenty feet perhaps; the heat of the water is 136° of Fahrenheit. From experiments made, the water is a chalybeate, with lime and some other earth in combination; the rock is evidently a limestone.

The Atthiyan or Attaram river is deep and narrow, and winds considerably. On its north bank we noticed a very singular rock of compact gray limestone, which is called Phabaptaung; it is completely perforated.

THE PROVINCES NORTHWARD FROM MARTABAN.

THE country stretching from Pegu to Martaban, and also that in the direction of Taungu, can scarcely be travelled over in the monsoon, both being deeply flooded.

In going from Pegu to Martaban, the traveller either proceeds by water along the coast to the Chetaung (or Sittang) river, and thence over land by the towns Díbí, Kamapa, and Kamana; or he sails up the San-luen river, and entering the Daung-damí, a tributary to the main river, which it joins at Mabí Phra Pagoda, is carried to a spot where a natural duct or canal leads off to the north. This canal is called Chakat-chaung, and it joins the Daung-wein-chaung at a distance from the Daung damí of about one day's sailing. This cut is, however, only practicable in the rainy season. There is also

[1] Lieut. George, 13th M.N.I., and Mr. Adams, commanding a gun-brig, favoured me with their company on this occasion.

a cut, or natural channel, leading from the Chetaung to the Pegu river (or Hangsawaddy-chaung). This I noted while sailing up the latter.

The proper route to Ava from Martaban is the same, so far as to the Chetaung river, as the route to Pegu.

I will here describe the whole route, as reported to me by the Burmans and Shans. The first place of any note, after leaving Martaban, is Jenkyeit (or Thenjeit). It is chiefly inhabited by Móns, (or Peguers,) and may contain, villages included, about 2,500 souls. Much salt is prepared here, and there are extensive plains in its vicinity, visible from Martaban hill, which are under rice cultivation. There is a famous pagoda on the summit of a hill, of the same name as the town; the hill is visible from the sea, and may be 3500 feet high; the town is not fortified. The Martaban maiwún, or governor, intrenched himself about two marches to the NW. of this place during the late war; and here he was enabled to overawe the population, from the command he possessed over all the creeks and rivers in this direction. To this it was owing, that the British force stationed in Martaban had scarcely any control beyond the gates of that town, on the north bank of the San-luen.

Sathaum-myu is the next stage to Jenkyeit; it possesses some decayed brick fences, having been originally the seat of an independent Peguan chief; there are few inhabitants here.

Daung-wan, at the next stage, is a town defended, it is reported, by a brick wall; it stands on a rising ground. Passing onwards, the next town is Wen-kalot-rowa, containing, it is said, 1500 souls. Next to it is Tait-killa, "white man's factory." The cause of its having this name was not explained to me; it lies on the Kadé-chaung, a small stream; the low hill above the town is surmounted by a brick defence; the population of the district is reckoned at 2500 souls. This town is about three hours' rowing from the sea, and large boats can ply up to it; the produce consists of rice, pepper, arecas, cardamoms, salt, and fruits; they salt fish, (preserved for the purpose in ponds,) and export it to Martaban and other places: it is of the kaboos species, which is highly relished by the Burmans and Peguers. Tait-killa is the frontier district of Martaban on the west coast, and is bounded by the Chetaung river.

Chetaung, or Sittang, is a town on the river of that name, and is situated on the east bank, and about one tide, or thirty miles, from the embouchure of the river; behind it lies a hill, surmounted by a pagoda; the town contains about 300 souls only; the river has a bar, over which sometimes a dangerous bore rushes; boats of four

coyans' burden [1] can reach the town, but small boats only can proceed higher. From this circumstance travellers prefer the regular land route.

Above Chetaung, and next in order, lies Kyaum Pagú, on the north bank of a small tributary to the main river, and bearing the name of the town; eastward of it is Kyaum Pagú-taung, a hill with pagodas. Ten hours more bring the traveller to the stockaded village Shúígyén (Myú), adorned with pagodas; most of the houses lie outside of the stockade; it is the chief town of a district of the same name, and both are computed together to contain 15,000 souls; being a mixture of Burmans, Peguers, and Plaau (the Tongsu of the Burmans); the produce of the district consists of rice, ivory, wax, and other Martaban productions. Five hours further bring us to San-chei, a small place on a stream of that name, which joins the Chetaung river. One day higher up lies Kyaup Kímyú, defended by a small stockade; the town is reckoned to contain 2000 souls; and it sends to the Burman marts rice, ivory, and betel-nut; cattle (bovine and buffaloes) are numerous.

The traveller crosses, at about four hours' distance from Kyaupkí, another tributary to the Chetaung river, which is termed Maum-kyaum; thence passing the village Maum-rowa, lying on its bank, he reaches, after about eight hours' march, the village of Baung-madí. Hence a journey of ten hours brings him to the fortified town Taungú, hitherto the boast of Burman engineers; the British army had no opportunity of judging of its merits, as the detachment sent against it returned before having reached it, owing to want of provisions; whatever its real strength may be, every Burman I have conversed with agreed in representing the inhabitants to be the most demoralized and lawless class in the empire.

The country around Taungú is reported to be open; in a Burman chart of the province, procured by me, the town is laid down in the angle formed by the separation of the river into two branches, and about one day above the precise point of junction; the north-east branch is called Sapta Kyaum, and sometimes Sada Kyaum, and it rises in the Chen-daung, or "Elephant mountains," where it is fabled to proceed by two streams from the head and trunk of an elephant; the western branch, termed Cheusé-kyaum, flows from the same hills; the sources of both branches are close to each other.

Leaving Taungú, the traveller passes, during five consecutive

[1] A coyan is 5323 lbs., and is a Malayan or Straits measure.

marches, the towns of Myúlayé and Chenyéyé, when he reaches Yamesén, a town containing about 550 houses, and 2700 souls. This district yields cotton, tobacco, wax, and ivory; cattle and poultry are plentiful.

From Yamesén a path leads off in a NNE. direction towards the province called Plaau by the natives, or Tongsú-myú by the Burmans. Beyond Yamesén, on the Ava road, is Mithila, and about sixteen hours distant; ten hours further bring the traveller to Shúígyén; hence there are two routes to the capital; that which leads NE. conducts him in about twelve hours to Penya Shúí-chegong-phra, a famous pagoda at Ava; the other, leading north-westerly, takes the traveller in a circuitous direction past the towns of Pha-lé-byein and Paup-myein-myú, and conducts him to Rinní-aum-myen, close to the capital. There is much jungle throughout this route; here and there a grassy plain may be crossed, and cultivation in patches may be observed; an express could perhaps be conveyed from Martaban to Amerapoora by this route in as short a time as one of our Indian dawks or posts could convey it over the same space. The Burmans use horse posts on important occasions; Dorians are thus conveyed to the golden feet, and it is a fruit which can scarcely be kept more than eight days in a sound state. An incumbered army could hardly accomplish this march within two months.

Returning to Yamasén, it will be found that a road leads off to other districts on its NNE. quarter. Three days' journey in that direction brings the caravan to Taungla, having about as large a population as Yamesén; it lies on a low hill, and is not provided with defences; small horses are here bred; rice, poultry, and vegetables are plentiful. Several days beyond this place is Enlewa, the chief town of a district so called; both together contain, according to Shaan estimates, 10,000 souls. The town is placed on an island in the midst of a lake about a mile wide; this reservoir is formed by a small stream descending from the adjacent hills on the east; it overflows in the rainy season, and it abounds in fish. The inhabitants consist of the three races before noticed as forming the population of Shúígyén-myú. They carry the produce of the district on bullocks down to Rangoon or to Ava; it consists of rice, wax, stick-lac, jaggery, raw silk, coarse pickled tea, (the leaf of which, according to one given to me in a dry but not shrivelled state, is about four inches long and one and a-quarter broad, and the shrub which produces it eight or ten feet high,) and cotton. They manufacture coarse blue and chequered cotton stuffs, dyeing them with the indigo

growing in the country; earth nuts (*arachis hypogæa* of Marsden), and various kinds of medicinal barks and roots, are also articles of barter. They make small japanned wares, for which manufacture their forests supply gums and resins. They have no salt, and depend for their yearly supply, as perhaps do all the people of the regions to the north and north-east of Pegu, on the salt manufactories of the Peguan coast; the Burman government and its subjects take full advantage of this circumstance, the traffic or barter of this cheaply-manufactured commodity being greatly in their favour. Eight days beyond Enlewa, in the same direction as before stated, is Benyen, with a population of about 2000 souls; the route is very jungly. Several days further on is the town of Thaumpé, situated in a province or district of the same name; the Burmans conquered it, and annexed it to their possessions under the title of Taungsú Myú.

With such information only as could be obtained, it were impossible to fix accurately the site of this town; but I am inclined to assign it to about the 19th degree of north latitude: it appears to be about 30 miles west from the Siamese hilly boundary. The natives call themselves Plaau, and are a very distinct race from the Burmans or Siamese; they differ in feature, language, and in character, and also in physical construction, from both of these nations.

The men of this tribe are inferior in stature and strength to the Burmans, who again fall generally below the Peguers and Kareans, in these particulars. The tribes inhabiting the N.E. borders of the Ava territory, of which this seems one, are chiefly known to the British under the denomination of Shaans, and they made themselves very conspicuous during the latter part of the war, when ranged under Amazonian leaders[1].

The statures of five Plaau, who were measured by me, were as follow:—

	Ft.	In.
The tallest, - - -	5	7
Second, - - -	5	6
Third, - - - -	5	2
Fourth and fifth { - -	5	1
- -	5	1

The average being five feet and three inches, omitting the fraction. They more resemble in countenance the Chinese, than any other

[1] One of these Amazons was killed in an attack on their Stockade. The second is also supposed to have been shot or killed, by the bursting of a shell, while she was being carried across a river.

people in this quarter of the east; their dress partakes also of the Chinese costume, consisting of a short jacket and wide trousers; the jacket doubles across the breast and is fastened with tape; it is either plain or quilted. They twist their hair into a knot with a handkerchief, like the Burmans, or twist it plain, or they bind it like a fillet around their heads; they tattoo their bodies like the Burmans and Laos, but less deeply and extensively; and they keep the lobes of their ears distended by thrusting rolls of silver or bits of polished wood through the holes which have been bored in them. This last is a Burman custom also, and may have been introduced from India along with their religion; it is generally found to be less prevalent beyond the eastern frontier of Ava, than within it; but the Laos have adopted the practice, and exhibit it in all its deformity. That it was imported with their religion is rendered most probable from the fact of Burman Búddhist images having unnaturally distended ears; the statuary following, in this instance, the framer of the Jain colossal statues of the same deified mortal, which are found in Kanara and in Mysore. When a Burman happens not to have a neat stopper, he thrusts a flower, a roll of paper, or even a half-smoked cigar into the aperture.

The climate is, at times, cool enough, in the Taungsú country, to render quilted jackets comfortable; a good one costs about ten ticals. The women wear close dresses, but no opportunity of seeing them offered. The Plaau are, as far as could be judged of, a simple lively people, much attached to agriculture, and, by their own confession, little disposed for war.

As they have no written language of their own, but make use of the Burman character, it would be perhaps impossible to trace their history. They are, in some degree, connected with the other tribes which are scattered over the wilder parts of the Burman empire, and who distinctly, as far as my own experience goes, claim to be the aboriginal races. They have seldom failed, when fitting occasions happened, to seek and maintain a wild degree of independence in the depths of the forest. The Plaau burn their dead, a consequence of their conversion to Búddhism; they do not, however, implicitly subscribe to Burman customs; thus for instance, their marriage ceremonies differ from those of Ava. Women are not here immured as in Hindústan; young men pay their addresses in person to the fair, and when the lover fancies that he observes symptoms of his suit prevailing, he takes an opportunity of placing his silver bracelet (one only being generally worn by the males) before her; if she takes it up, he is rendered happy, and immediately refers his suit

to her parents; the approbation of the parents is the prelude to a feast, the prominent viands of which consist of buffalo and cow beef, venison, and other game, the flesh of monkeys, poultry, and bandicoots. The festivities are prolonged according to the wealth of the parties, and they daily conclude with deep potations of arrack and rice beer; opium, that bane to happiness when over indulged in, is hardly known to these people, except through their intercourse with Chinese traders.

Marriage being here a mere civil contract, the attendance of a priest is not required to confirm it; but were the case otherwise, as might be suspected it had been, from the invocations of superior powers now used at the ceremony, the priest could not, consistently, be a Phúngie or Búddhist one, since his religion would forbid him from conversing with or even looking at a woman, or from being present in her company. An elder of the village society attends instead of a parson; he gives a cup of rice wine to each of the parties, repeating at the same time certain invocations of benignant devattas, to prove propitious; they drink the wine, after which, the elder binds one arm of the man to an arm of the woman, and the marriage is completed.

The women are chiefly employed, when in the house, at the loom; but they work moderately in the fields, when required. Slavery does not exist, although it is believed that an individual may sell his services for a given period.

Their music is rude, the instruments consisting of gongs, cymbals, drums, and a sort of flute. They sing with a better grace than the Burmans and Peguers, and with hat in hand; two vocalists of this description, who exhibited at my request, flourished about their mat hats, of two feet in diameter; these hats are small, compared with the Burman japanned paper ones, which would render a quaker's quite unfashionable, since some of them are four feet five inches in diameter, serving the double purpose of hat and umbrella.

The province is governed by a Burman Maiwún, and justice is, of course, administered according to Burman law. The town is protected by a stockade, and is rated to contain 5000 souls. Rice is grown in sufficient quantity for the use of the population; a few buffaloes are kept for agricultural purposes; they are smaller it is said than the breeds further south; other cattle are abundant, and small horses are bred for sale. The general products are rice, raw cotton, coarse cotton stuffs, some of which are of the nankeen yellow cotton, which grows here; tea, coarse paper, and silk, the pro-

duee of a worm whieh is fed upon the poja leaf. Ivory is not procured here; gold is eollected in small quantities from the beds of rivulets, espeeially in the bed of the Paung-laung-chaung; lead is extracted from pits dug in the hilly traets, but lateral tunnels are rarely eut to any great distanee; the matrix of the ore has not been aseertained; these mines, it is said, supply Ava with most of the lead used in war. Tin is found in the shape of a blaek oxide, or stream ore, thus showing its eonnexion, perhaps, with the extensive formations of that metal in Tennasserim ; it is valued in the district where it is mined, at about twenty-five or thirty tieals the tabeesa, whieh rate will correspond with one of from eleven to thirteen rupees per China pieul[1], being about one-fourth or one-third less, respeetively, than its value on the eoast. It has been hitherto generally supposed that the tin formation, so eontinuous throughout the Malaeea Peninsula and Tennasserim, terminates about 15° north latitude, and it does appear that an interruption takes plaee to its continuity, north of the Tavoy mines, if we are to take native accounts only as guides. But as the eountry which intervenes betwixt Tavoy and Thaumpé, towards the hills, is wild in the extreme, and only inhabited by savage tribes, it is evident that we eannot possess any authentie accounts of its mineralogical peeuliarities. Iron ore is abundant, and it is smelted in order that swords, knives, and other artieles may be manufactured. They have no mines of preeious stones, if the natives are to be eredited; the latter informed me that the distriet producing sueh, lies still further north; this agrees with the aeeount given in the "*Mission to Ava*" of the mines whenee the Ava preeious stones are extracted; it is there stated that they are brought from Mo-gaot and Kyatpyan, about five days' journey from Ava, in a direetion E.S.E. Lime is abundant in Thaumpé. They import salt and spiees. The Sapan tree abounds, but is too far from the eoast to be of any value as an export, sinee there are no navigable rivers by whieh it can be floated to the sea.

The houses are built of strong posts, beams, and bamboo mats.

In the note below will be found some names of fruits and woods, the speeies of most of whieh have not been aseertained, specimens not being procurable[2].

[1] One hundred and thirty-three pounds and one-third.

[2] Rang—a thorny tree.
Makú—a tree, the bark of which is used to dye yellow.
Lac—the red dye.
Maikham and Mai—indigo.

The people manufacture gunpowder. They trade by caravans, with Rangoon, to the extent, it is reported, of more than an Indian lac of ticals annually (or 100,000). They import salt, areca nuts, balachong, or caviare; salt fish, coarse broad cloths and woollens, spices, crockery, and piece goods.

Traders from some of the frontier districts of China, make periodical visits to the Rangoon port; they convey their merchandise on mules and horses; a caravan sometimes will amount to one thousand persons, who go well armed, and have generally their families with them; they bring cotton, cloth, silks, coarse paper, woollens, paints, cutlery, steatite, and other Chinese products. Nutmegs and cloves have been found amongst their wares. These must have traversed the extensive regions of China and Yunnan, before reaching these traders. The rains are less abundant in Thaumpé than in Pegu; the cultivator uses the buffalo for the plough, and employs also the harrow and spade; the system of transplating the rice-plants is here practised.

The Ava weights and measures here obtain. They can scarcely be said to have any regular coinage; I obtained some of their conical silver coins. These are of different denominations of value, and contain about twenty-five per cent. of alloy, like Burman ticals. The Burmans supply the Thaumpé with muskets; they use swords, spears, bows, and knives.

By their own accounts, the country could furnish 5000 fighting men, which would admit of an estimate of about 30,000 souls for the total population.

The Thaumpé language approaches closer to that of the Siamese than to the Burman, so that the Peguers confound the tribe which speaks it, with the Siamese race and the Laos. It is monosyllabic, like the Indo-Chinese dialects in general.

Mokmún—a small fruit growing on a shrub, ten feet or so in height.
Maukhíka—a sweet round fruit, about the size of an apple.
Mokman—a fruit having a thick rind, about the size of a bean.
Taphyúra—an acid fruit.
Maukman—a sweet large subacid fruit.
Thapan—a long sweet fruit.
Maklot—fruit of a creeping plant.
Maklang—the jack.
Mapha—a low thorny shrub, bearing fruit.
Tekye—the varnish gum.
Castor, ginger, bellerie, emblic, sesame, are common.
Torches are prepared of light resinous wood.
Saltpetre is imported from Siam.

Specimen of the Thaumpe, or Shaan Language.

Khún hím, the king's house.

Lú haú, a good man, where the adjective follows the noun; *lú* is a Chinese word.

Sí kai nga, a bad horse.—Nam daba lúm hau, better than all.

(The pronoun precedes the verb, and the verb the substantive).

Koei láe, I go.—Loei am dén, I eat rice.

Pashú kainga, he [is] wicked.

Koei lu tau or [tillutau], I [am] not pleased.

Koei sí tau, I don't know, or, I know not.

Loei runga, we will proceed.—Tam ngam mun, do not fear.

Yí lun la-shen-taba, bring a sword.

Am dén or, amta dén, to eat rice.

Au, is.—Tayá, this.—Kampha, world.

Mu, the sun.—La, the moon.—Tang, north.

Naau, south.—Muí khan, east.—Muí nu, west.—Klon, island.

Kong, hill.—Me, fire.—Thí, water.—Panglai, the sea.—Nam, body.

Me nga trí, countenance.—Mé, eye.—Pú, a bull.—Sí, a horse.

Chang [Siamese], an elephant.—Ta, fish.

Kham, gold.—Rán, silver.—Rík, tin.—Kyún, lead.

Phai [Siamese] cotton.—Akú, seed.—Lai táng, sugar-cane.

Achongkeng, soldier.—Tap, a fort.

Nat tallau, musket.

Tanyang, pity.—Sako, anger.—Théng préng, a tomb.

Kkún, king.—Nangmú, queen.—Taneng, a year.—Tasa, a day.

Aa, many.—Chén, few.—Tan, great.—Pe pe, little.

A divinity, Phra.

Kaba, - -	one.		
Ní, - - -	two.		
Som, - -	three, - - -	sam in Siamese.	
Let, - -	four.		
Ngaat, - -	five, - - - -	haa,	ditto.
Sú, - - -	six.		
Nut, - -	seven, - - -	chet,	ditto.
Sát, - -	eight, - - -	pet,	ditto.
Kot, - -	nine, - - -	kau,	ditto.
Tachí, - -	ten, - - - -	seep,	ditto.
Tirrea, - -	one hundred.	ráe,	ditto.
Tírreung, -	one thousand.		
Tamun, -	ten thousand,	mún,	ditto.

A Thaumpe Song[1].

Ponleng daungrí tirra—tung páma kyú—
Tung chú má kháng—má kucháng—
Au pu nam—au kám doei má—
Aphéng doei séng—aphai doei mai
Along má kháng chú chú—makyú
Lon lon au nau lang lang—
Au thang lon lon—au kun nú nú.
Au tú yí yí—au kí phra phra
Au la rú rú—lo phúng ko akat
Nang myat súra—satí ue. *(Chorus.)*
Mí mí nang hau—som chú mú hau—
Sompa séng pattamya—arong akrong séng chíng kathíng
Chon me lep le—se kya ara—net sak hau rak—
Hau chúm bo múm—hachú ngau nú
Hau no se kya—ang sú prasatí ue rin. *(Chorus.)*

CHE-UNG MAI, OR NORTH LAOS.

GEOGRAPHICAL POSITION.

North Laos, or that tract of country comprehended under the title of Che-ung Mai, is bounded as follows:—On the north and north-east are the Che-ung-dau hills, in and part of Yunnan; on the south, Siam; on the east are hills dividing it from South Laos; and on the west it is bounded by a range of the Daé Suthep mountains, which separates it from the Burman dominions. The space thus hemmed in by hills appears to be of an oblong shape, and to contain an area of about 300 miles long, by 100 broad at the utmost. The outlets to this country are few and difficult; there is not any very practicable route in the direction of Ava; and that one leading to South Laos has been neglected; the route to Siam is the one which is best known, and of the most importance to the people of North Laos. About thirty miles, by report, westward of the Suthep range,

[1] The Shaans were not well enough versed in Burmese to enable me to obtain a correct translation of these verses. They were, they said, in praise of British valour, which shows that they can temporize like other people.

This song was sung to me by one of the *Plaau* with much simplicity of style and with hat in hand, which he managed so as to give him a sort of theatrical air. This hat, with a brim of umbrella-like capacity, he held in his right hand, and then applying the fore finger of his left to his left ear, and inclining a little to that side, he began the song.

flows the Mé Khong, or Martaban river; here, at a place called Ban mé nam héng, or "Dry river village," nearly in the latitude of Che-ung Mai, it is about fifty yards broad; it is not navigable. The boundary of the two countries is marked by the Dong Phríya Fai, a range of hills stretching east and west, and thus closing up the great valley of Siam. The Mé Nam, or great river of Siam, forces a passage through this belt, and is here so turbulent and so obstructed by rocks, as not to be navigable by boats. The Laos road leads over a pass on the west side of the river; it requires one day to cross the range; but although the latter is about from 2000 to 3000 feet in general elevation, yet the extreme height of the break or pass is only about 900 feet. A guard of 500 Laos, under a rachesan or officer, is here stationed to guard this frontier.

A march of three days on an elephant, or about twenty-five miles a day, brings the traveller to the fortified town of Pho-khíau, which lies on the west bank of the river, and is the capital of a district of the same name. The walls, which are of stone, faced with bricks, and about twenty-four feet high, enclose a space of about 300 yards on each side; there is a wet ditch twenty-four feet distant from the walls, and this communicates by a canal with the river, which last is about five sens distant; it is thus kept constantly filled.

On each face there is one chief gate, besides two inferior ones—one on each side of it. At each of the four angles of the square, is a brick bastion with a demi-arched roof. There are no guns on the walls, but it is said there are about 400 swivels in the place, and many muskets; the latter are of an inferior description, being either bought in Siam, or obtained from the Chinese province of Kéo. Those from Kéo bear no mark. Match-locks are seldom used, and the muskets are not completed with bayonets. This being a frontier province, every registered man is allowed to wear arms; the fort is garrisoned by 500 soldiers; the district contains about 30,000 souls, and can bring about 8000 fighting men into the field. I have learned that 20,000 males were registered two years ago, but I have adopted the lowest scale.

The silk-worm is reared in this province, and is fed on the mulberry, and on the leaf of a shrub called chak chan; cotton, wax, sapan-wood, rice, tobacco, and indigo, are the common products.

One day's march from Pho-khíau brings the traveller to Pho-khan, which is the chief town of another district so named; it is also fortified with a wall similar to that of Pho-khíau, and its population is reported to equal that of the latter place. About two days northward of Pho-khan is Che-ung Mai, the capital of North Laos, which

is reckoned fourteen days' journey on an elephant from Bankok, at the rate of about 1000 sens a day; but a despatch can be conveyed in six or seven days. The stages of it are: 1, Krung, or the old capital; 2, Phí-chít, an open town; 3, Phí-chai, also an open town; 4, Ban-pho; 5, Pho-khíau; 6, Pho-khan; 7, Che-ung Mai. Like Asiatic cities of old, it consists of a wide area, in which are numerous gardens and orchards; the walls form a square, each face of which is about six miles in extent; formerly there was an inner square, but it has been dispensed with to admit of the population finding room. At each of the angles there is a pám, or bastion, with a demi-arched roof of bricks, where five or six small guns (about four-pounders) are mounted; the wall is composed of a pudding-stone, or breccia, which has been dug from the surrounding country; the blocks, when cut out, are soft, and about four and a-half feet square, and one foot thick; but on exposure they speedily harden, and are afterwards very durable; the cement used is composed of lime, (obtained from limestone,) coarse sugar, a bark of a tree, (the kulit teja of the Malays,) pounded and lixiviated, and boiled buffalo-hide.

The wall is four waa, or twenty-four feet high; the rampart contains loop-holes for musketry, and the pathway along it is twenty feet wide, with a sloping bank of earth down to the area of the place; on the outside of this wall there is a ditch, without any facing of brick or stone, kept in very bad order, but reported unfordable. It is about 100 yards distant from the Mé-nam, or river of Siam, but does not communicate with it; the distance between this ditch and the wall is thirty-six feet; in each face there are three gates, the centre one of each being termed the "war gate."

There were two inner walls formerly, but the citadel, where the prince resides, is the only space now enclosed. This court occupies the centre of the great square of the fort, and is defended by a wall of bricks eighteen feet high; the chief's house is of brick and wood, with a tiled roof. There are four roads, lined with bazaars, stretching from each of the principal gates to the citadel; the gates are guarded by about 300 men.

The Mé-nam Yai is here about thirty yards wide, and so shallow in the dry season that it is everywhere fordable, scarcely reaching the knee, and is only navigable by the flimsiest description of canoes; in the rains it swells to a rapid and deep torrent; large boats can then run down to Pho-khan, but more go northward. The navigation betwixt North Laos and Siam is interrupted at the Dong-phrí-a-fai range, for here the river forces a passage amongst rocks and over precipices.

In former times the Laos or Lau territories embraced the following states: Che-ung Mai, Lauchaung Lamphun, Phré, Naan, Sung, Lakhon Lau, Pho-khíau, Pho-khan, and others; but the ambition and restless jealousy of the Siamese have induced them successively within the last few years to attack and destroy the whole of these countries, with exception of the three here comprehended under the title of North Laos. They sacked Weung Chan (or Lauchang), where a great slaughter of its inhabitants took place; the prince fled with about 5000 people to the Cochin-Chinese territory, and about an equal number were carried back as captives to Siam; but of these last, 2000 are said to have died of cholera morbus.

Lauchang may be supposed to have contained a population of 50,000 souls, as the Siamese found it requisite to detach an army of 12,500 men against it. This army consisted of,—

Mons, or Peguers, - - - - -	2,000
Burmans, - - - - - -	500
Siamese, under Khun Lo-ung Wan Na, - - -	3,000
Ditto, under Kromma rak, - - - -	3,000
Ditto, under Kromma tíbet Bawan, - - -	2,000
Kromma thepreni, - - - - -	1,000
Kromma thep yotha - - - - -	1,000
	12,500

The war originated in the Laos people refusing to send the golden flower—the usual mark of homage.

There are some reasons for the supposition that Che-ung Mai lies on or near what was once the famous Bamian[1] route from India to China and Camboja, and which was pursued by traders before navigation was opened.

The Laos allege that the provinces of Péchagu chalang, Sang phak, and Letawang, lying westward from Che-ung Mai, were wrested from them by the Burmans in the 993rd year of the Laos era (A.D. 1571).

POLITICAL CONDITION.

THE people of North Laos owe, perhaps, their independence to the happy situation of their country. It is naturally strong, and lies at a convenient distance from its neighbours—the Burmans and Siamese; it has been frequently attacked by both of these nations, but seems at present quite unconnected with them; when threatened by one of these, it has always the option of calling in the aid of the

[1] Asiatic Researches.

other; the same circumstances did not affect South Laos, so that the Siamese effected an easy conquest of it. It is believed, too, that the North Laos people are fully matched in courage with the Siamese.

POPULATION.

By information obtained from individuals who have long resided in Che-ung Mai, I am induced to rate its population at a maximum of 150,000 souls; if to this be added that of the Lower Provinces, Pho-khíau and Pho-khan, we shall have about 200,000 souls for the whole of North Laos. Mr. Crawfurd has considered the whole Laos states to contain 840,000 inhabitants[1]. But of all these countries not one now exists in an independent state, excepting North Laos.

The Siamese do not seem ambitious of retaining conquests on the N.E. frontier; and to prevent annoyance from that quarter, have converted the subdued countries of South Laos into a desert.

The people of North Laos call the Siamese T'hai Meu-ung (or Mu-ung) tai, meaning "Inhabitants of the Low Country," and themselves are termed by the Siamese, Chau Núa, "people of the interior." The Laos reckon thirty branches from their original stock, as an old native of the country informed me. He only, however, recollected five,—the Siamese, Lanchangese, Khamenese, Lawa, and Yang. The people of Che-ung Mai consist of three classes,—Laos, Chinese, and Siamese; the Chinese amount to about five hundred, and the Siamese are still less numerous.

HISTORY AND ERAS.

The early history of the Laos is involved in much the same sort of obscurity as that of any of the surrounding nations. As it is pretty evident, however, that they had no letters until the introduction of the Pali character and language amongst them, we can thence trace back with some precision to the period when they emerged from absolute barbarism into a comparatively civilized state.

They are the original stock, as they allege, whence the Siamese sprung, and which the latter do not deny; and there cannot be much doubt of their having progressed from some more northern or north-western region, since the people of Khamti, bordering on Assam, speak a language scarcely differing from the Siamese. Siam may have been, perhaps, the Siama Des, or the "country of itself,"

[1] Embassy to Siam.

described in the Mahawanso, and known to the Singalese Priests. The Chang Priests of Assam also speak a dialect of the Siamese. The Siamese separated, or branched off, about A.D. 813, according to the Laos accounts, a circumstance which deprives them of any claim to superior antiquity.

The Laos civil era commences A.D. 638, and their astronomical one, 544 years before the christian era. Their year begins with the third day of their seventh month, or our July, and the same cause may be given for this peculiarity, which has been assigned as that which probably gave rise to the fifth Siamese month being reckoned the first of their year[1]. The epochs here alluded to, correspond respectively with the civil and sacred or astronomical Burman periods. With their religious era, their civil one does not correspond, for this reason, that the former is that of the founder of the religion, and not that of its introduction into Laos.

The Laos of old termed their country Chí Mai, "Priests' dominion," and Sowanna phom, or "The golden Brahma." The first prince dreamed that Brahma descended in refulgent glory, and put into his hands a golden pipul tree, which he was desired to plant as the ensign around which a powerful nation would be collected. On awaking, he cast his eyes on a real pipul tree, which was immediately guarded, and by its sheltering influence, the people multiplied, and gave laws to their neighbours. In addition to the pipul tree, Phra Een, or Indra, condescended to present the prince with an emerald, possessing extraordinary protecting virtues.

I have not been able to obtain the list of the kings who succeeded to the throne during the long interval which seems to have elapsed from the founding of the dynasty until the succession of Chau-muúng Phakú, or king Phakú. He is stated to have reigned in 410, of their civil era, or 1048 of Christ.

Phakéo, brother of Phakú, succeeded him in the government. He was attacked by the Burmans under Chau fa Sutt'ho, who reduced and occupied the capital, Che-ung Mai. This general, or prince (for it is not specified which), had scarcely settled himself in the government, when Chau Thepphasing, a priest of Buddha, threw off the yellow sacerdotal mantle, drove the Burmans out of the

[1] The Egyptian year of old, had its first month *Thoth*, shifted during the circular period of 1460 years, through all the signs or seasons, until it came round to the same place again.—(Maurice.)

M. Cassini conjectures, that the same arrangement of the fifth month becoming the first of the year, which obtains in Siam, was owing to an error in their system, by which the vernal equinox had lost ground and receded.

country, and assumed the sovereignty of North Laos. This priest was, in his turn, expelled by Ongkhan, the chief of an emigration from South Laos. The circumstances are thus narrated.

At the great festival of holding the plough, which took place at the period preceding the event alluded to, at Lanchang, the capital of South Laos, Ongkhan, who was the brother of the reigning prince, transgressed the ordinances of Buddha, by killing some game in the forest. Although this offence might have been overlooked, still the king, who was jealous of his return to the city, seized the opportunity to exile him; he was informed that he might take his adherents along with him, to any region whither he might prefer to bend his steps. Ongkhan collected five thousand men, with their families, and advancing in a north-westerly direction, through the petty states or provinces of Naan Phré, and Lakhán, reached a pipul tope, in the vicinity of Che-ung Mai. Thepphasing was totally unprepared for this irruption; he therefore fled to Lamphún with his forces[1]; the principal remaining inhabitants of Che-ung Mai, being deserted by their ruler, sent out a deputation to the invader, requesting him to take possession of the country; he replied, with affected modesty, that he only sought an asylum for his people. While negotiations were pending, an army of Burmans approached the capital, upon which Ongkhan marched into it with his whole party, and by uniting his efforts with the besieged, repulsed the Burman forces; he now no longer refused to accept of the proffered authority, that is to say, he usurped it.

Ongkhan was succeeded by his son Chau-há-ná; this prince gave his daughter, Nang-Túm, in marriage to Talapan, a Laos officer, who endeavoured to subvert the government; but his project proving futile, he fled to Tangpuchaya. Chau-há-ná died, and was succeeded by Chau-túng, his brother. The Burmans nearly destroyed Che-ung Mai in this reign, and they carried the prince captive to their capital. Chau Kawíla, a Laos of Lakhán, taking advantage of the confused state of affairs, made himself king.

He was succeeded by his brother, who, dying, left the kingdom to the son of Kawíla. His successor was his son, whose name was not mentioned to me.

Beyond this reign, I could procure no chronological information. The several reigns alluded to may have occupied a period of 200 years, so that there remains a space of about 570 years to fill up.

[1] If this account be literally correct, the population of Che-ung Mai must have been then very limited.

GOVERNMENT.

The government of North Laos is conducted in nearly the same manner as in Siam; the prince now governing, is termed Chau Che-ung Mai, "Lord of Che-ung Mai," and he is assisted by four councillors, who in fact govern on all ordinary occasions; these are Phríya Chichasén, Phríya Sítthísan, Phríya Chai Múnkrí, Chat-údom. It is a despotic government, and the succession hereditary; it seems to have originally consisted of petty feudal states, which acknowledged one head; the prince is expected to be visible twice a day to his subjects, to hear and redress grievances, and to distribute rice and provisions to the priesthood.

The king is absolute, but necessity and self-interest have induced many anomalies and usages, tending to ameliorate the condition of the subject, and to place the real authority of the ruler on a footing similar, nearly, to that of a patriarchal chief, or the principal member of an aristocracy, who only exhibits his power when it is attacked or questioned. Shut out from all extensive intercourse with the most civilized Indian States, the people of Laos seem to be simple in their habits and brave in war.

LAWS.

Their laws are derived, through the channel of the Pali, from the reputed code of Menu; altered they undoubtedly must have been from the ordinances of that, perhaps, fictitious lawgiver, and mixed they certainly are with many extraneous enactments arising out of the peculiarities in the habitudes and character of the people. The Pali codes extant in Siam, called Kot, are chiefly—1, Phra Ayakaan, from the Pali Phra Racha Kanyat or Criminal Law; 2, Dhamma-saat, from the Dhammabot—Civil Law; 3, Tamnun regards institutions; 4, Lak Bínyapat, judicial regulations; 5, Krommasak, on Fines.

The law is administered by four sena, or judges, and about eight khon pho tém nang su, or registrars; these judges are the four councillors. The laws are not preserved in the Pàli, but in the proper Laos character, so that any one may study them; they are not, apparently, enforced with such rigour as those of Siam, where torture and flagellation not unfrequently precede trial; but their general tenour may be deemed the same as that of the Siamese codes. The testimony of the relatives of parties in civil cases is

seldom received, but in criminal cases it is allowed. The law requires three witnesses to convict an accused person. Retailers of spirits, and some other classes, are not admitted to give evidence. Murder is in general punished by imprisonment and stripes; rarely by death; the relatives of the murdered person are allowed to receive the price of blood, or a compensation from the culprit, when the latter may be set at liberty; although this is not a necessary consequence. In cases of treason, or other state offences, pagoda robberies, arson, and other atrocious crimes, great severity is often used—decapitation, crucifixion, and laying open of the stomach; suspension in an iron cage over gunpowder, which is exploded, and which seldom kills at once, are a few of their punishments. Robbing a pagoda is a heinous offence; twelve years ago a case of this sort occurred, and the culprits, five in number, were burned alive. Theft is punished by stripes, imprisonment, and confinement in an iron cage, perhaps for life. In cases of adultery, should the husband discover the parties together, he may kill the paramour of his wife; but if the man gets off, a fine only is imposed.

The laws regarding inheritance are specific. The survivor of a married couple inherits the property which belonged to both. The children succeed according to seniority, the eldest receiving the largest share, and the other shares diminishing downwards to the youngest. The subject is allowed to have a property in the soil, and to alienate or dispose of it at pleasure; waste land or jungle may be occupied by any man who may choose to take possession; his having cultivated it establishes his right therein.

CUSTOMS.

Marriage is merely a civil institution amongst the Laos; although polygamy is permitted, yet few have more than one lawful wife; the chief has one wife, and about thirty concubines. There is little restriction on the intercourse betwixt the sexes; the lover visits the parents of his mistress, carrying some trifling presents; he then makes known the purport of his visit, upon which the girl is called, and questioned whether she consents to admit of his addresses; if her reply is in the affirmative, little time is lost in settling the preliminaries; a feast is given, generally at the expense of the richest party, and offerings of pigs, poultry, &c., are made to the manes of deceased ancestors, in a similar manner as in Chinese solemnities.

In this respect they deviate from the custom of the Siamese, who only make offerings on such occasions to Buddha; the offerings are discussed by the guests.

A túman, or priest, is requested to attend at the house of the bride; the chief purpose for which priests are called does not relate to the actual ceremony; his presence is required to invoke superior orders of beings if benign, and to propitiate them if malignant ones. He there recites many religious Pali formula, particularly that one which may be termed "the Buddhist Confession of Faith," formerly noticed, beginning thus: "Namo tassa bhagavato arahato samma sambuddhassa utthang saranang kachamí thammang, saranang," &c. The priest next fills a jar with water, which he consecrates by putting into it some leaves of the cocoa-nut tree and other substances; this water is sprinkled over the bride and bridegroom, on the door-posts, and over other parts of the house, as a charm against the agency of malignant spirits; the priest, having then received some presents, returns home. The couple are afterwards placed on a mat, and the elders ask them whether they desire to be married. If they reply in the affirmative, then the mother of the bridegroom, or some other elderly person, makes each of them drink a portion of the consecrated water; with the remaining water they wash their hands and faces. She then ties the hands of the bridegroom and bride together, imploring from the "Thirty-two holy relics of Buddha," every temporal blessing to be their lot; this concludes the ceremony, and the man, on horseback, like the bridegrooms of India, followed by a cavalcade, conveys the bride home. The parents of the married pair bestow goods and such property as they can spare on them.

In Laos a divorce is not common, but both parties being willing, they may be formally separated.

They burn their dead in Laos; a coffin having been prepared, and the deceased put into it, a priest attends to repeat set Pali forms. Having finished his task, he is complimented with clothes, fruits, &c., and departs. A feast is now given to the relatives of the deceased and visiters; these last, not being expected to mourn greatly the loss of the deceased, are, to prevent them going away, entertained with dramatic exhibitions and chess. The priest returns to a place near the house on the second day, and leads the procession, which meets him there; the coffin, being placed on the pile, is consumed by fire, or left exposed to the birds; and the priest repeats some sacred passage over the body.

The people of this country may sell their services, and they

become then what are termed to the eastward amongst Malays, debtor servants, or slaves debtors. On payment of the original sum, they are free, provided nothing specific as to the period of service be included in the agreement.

The music and musical instruments of the Laos are similar to what the Siamese have, but fewer, and they are inferior to that people in whatever relates to public show or theatrical entertainment. Their instruments are, klúí, a flute; phen, a sort of bagpipe; musical bowls, drums, tambourines, cymbals, castanets, trumpets, and other instruments like those of the Siamese.

Amongst their favourite games is chess, and a sort of dice; and they have lately introduced theatrical entertainments and tight-rope dancing.

The Laos eat almost any kind of animal food, although rice is the chief article in their daily fare. They serve up their meals on circular trays and in small china cups. They use, when they can get it, a strong infusion of tea along with their rice; the tea-shrub does not grow in the low country; it is cultivated by the Lawa, a wild tribe, who, like the Kareans of the interior provinces of Burma, inhabit the hilly and jungly tracts.

The skins of buffaloes and oxen are much relished; these are roasted, scraped, and then cut into slips. The Laos help themselves with their fingers only; the rice is boiled, and mashed, and served up in lumps.

HUSBANDRY.

The farmers, chiefly women, begin to plough their fields in Che-ung Mai, (as formerly in Che-ung Sen and Che-ung Tung,) in their eighth month, or August, when the rains begin; they reap in the second month. The only rice cultivated is the *Oryza glutinosa*; and as there is no market for surplus grain, it is so cheap as ten thanan[1] for a cent of a dollar; all the country from the fort to the hills is cultivated with this rice.

It would appear that in the province of Pe-Chagu, Chalang Tang phak, and Letawang, which lie betwixt Ava and Che-ung Mai, they begin to plough the surface in the same (eighth) month. In Lamphún, Phre, and Naan, lying further south, and in Siam, still further south, it begins rather later.

They follow the Hindoos in dividing their year into three seasons; viz., wasanta, the rainy; hemanta, the cold; and khímhanta,

[1] A measure called by the Malays guntang, containing about a gallon.

the hot season. Lying in a higher latitude, Che-ung Mai is exposed to greater vicissitudes of climate than Bankok; the Burmans complain that it is cold and unhealthy. The rainy season would seem to set in here some time previous to its commencement in Siam; for Loubère (*Hist. Account of Siam*) observes, that in Siam the land becomes saturated by the swelling of the river long before the rain appears.

The rains in Laos are by no means so heavy as in the countries lying under more southern latitudes.

The implements of husbandry are a simple plough, a harrow, and spade, or hoe; the plough is dragged by two oxen, and the grain is sown broad-cast; buffaloes are also used in tillage. There are very few labourers for hire; the cultivators assist each other by turns in the various operations of husbandry; they cut the grain with the common sickle, leaving only as much of the stalk attached to the ear as is grasped by the hand of the reaper; the ears are collected on baked earthen floors, and trodden out by oxen. They use large wagons for the conveyance of goods.

The women assist in the rice cultivation, otherwise they are busied in various household duties; they spin cotton thread, and prepare silk for the loom, and of both they weave cloths; they attend also to petty bazaars, in the manner of the Burman women.

The hire of a labourer is about a quarter of a rupee a day. They have gold and silver smiths, iron smiths, loom makers, mat makers potters, tailors, (who are Chinese,) embroiderers, and a variety of petty artisans. Women weave the silk cloth from the thread obtained from the silk worms.

PRODUCE AND TRADE.

Paper of a coarse texture is made from the bark of a creeping plant termed by them Salé, and by the Siamese Thrí-tsa-nayang; the seeds of its fruit resemble a bean about an inch long; the bark is boiled in an ash ley, and when dissolved and macerated, is poured on the surface of water; frames on which cloth has been stretched are introduced beneath, and gently lifted up, so as to raise equally what is floating; the frames are then exposed to the sun, and the paper is taken off when dried.

In the preparation of leather, the skins are first exposed to the action of lime-water, then beaten, and dressed by an infusion of sapang.

Silk is manufactured by the inhabitants. The worm is reared on the leaf of the mán or mulberry-tree.

Tobacco grows all over the country.

The sugar-cane is cultivated, and coarse sugar is prepared from its juice; a coarse sugar is likewise made from date-tree sap. There are few Chinese in North Laos, which accounts for the infancy of this manufacture.

Phala, or cardamoms, and Phakkí, or coriander, grow in many parts of the country.

Black pepper is cultivated by a tribe called Yang, who frequent the hilly districts.

Three sorts of indigo are known, the same as have been noticed in the chapter on Martaban. Kham is the generic name; the species are kham noe, the true indigo; kham luk and kham baak, creeping plants.

Arrows are poisoned with the inspissated juice of the tree called Ya Khang Phumsen.

Castor, lac, musk, and krawan, or Indian leaf, are procurable in considerable quantities.

The following productions are found in various parts :—

Benjamin; k,handak, a fragrant wood; ton reo, an acid fruit, eaten with the betel mixture; tamarinds; ton phútsa, or rhamnus jujuba, *Lin.*; ton let yíau; lok nom chang, a large fruit of a tree peculiar to the country, apparently; fek, a broad fruit; ton nom ngoá, ton nom k,nwai, two kinds of fruit; lok sau phría chon let, "what a princess has looked at, with a wish to possess it," is the fruit of a creeping plant, sweet to the taste. Other fruits are plantains, duei kai, a sort of rambutan; cocoa-nut trees are scarce; betel vines are found wild. Sapan and teak wood are plentiful; a species of sandal wood is said to be procurable.

The Laos manufacture gunpowder; the sulphur is got from China and Siam; the charcoal is made from mango-tree wood, also from rice; the rind of the maknam, a large kind of gourd, is likewise used for this purpose.

Cotton, both white and brown, is raised for the manufacture of coarse cloth worn by the people.

The country abounds in elephants, buffaloes, oxen, and other animals, of the description found in Siam; also Laa, or asses, which are used to carry loads; there are no sheep. In fact, North Laos may be considered in part as forming the upper, although perhaps not the broadest portion of the valley of Siam.

TRADE.

The Laos used to trade chiefly with the Burmans, Siamese, Tonquinese, and the people of Kangtung (Quantong, apparently). In peaceful times they came down in large caravans to Rangoon, to barter their commodities for salt, cloth, spices, and other articles. The Tonquinese and other bordering people came to Laos by caravans, to barter their merchandise for the produce of the country. They transported these on horses or maa, and on laa, an animal which, from the description given, seems to be the ass; they have five spare horses, or laa, for every ten loads; they bring sulphur, cinnabar, gamboge, haradan, or yellow sulphuret of arsenic, used as a paint, and also in medicine,—borax, benjamin, (brought by the Chín-ha,) chaat, or factitious cinnabar, musk, silk, cloth, gold-thread, embroidered cloths, raw silk of a finer texture than that produced in Laos, steel, cutlery, paper, crockery, and other articles. These merchants may amount to about fifty yearly, possessing from ten to thirty horses each; they carry from Laos lac, sapan-wood and other dyes, small paroquets' skins dressed with the feathers on, which sell for about the value of half-a-crown each in Kangtung; ivory, rhinoceros' horns, wax, tin, plumbs for fishing-lines, and other articles.

A considerable trade was formerly, and I believe up to the period when the Burman war broke out, carried on betwixt Che-ung Mai, or the countries near it, and Rangoon. They transported their goods on the backs of horses and oxen, and occasionally employed wagons. It does not appear that they have traded much lately[1], as most of my informants say that they have little intercourse now with the capital of Ava, or with countries lying to the northward of Che-ung Mai. As salt is an article in greatest request with the people of the interior, and this cannot be obtained except at a very enhanced price in most of the upper countries, we may suppose that they prefer the Rangoon market. In North Laos, however, they are not dependent on the coast for salt, as large quantities are collected in the hot season on their plains; it is more bitter than sea salt. Their other wares, such as lacquered boxes, drugs, jaggery, or coarse sugar, silks, and cottons, dyes, earth-nuts, and tea in a pickled state, here also bring the greatest profits they are capable of yielding, while those they take in exchange, viz., woollens, piece-goods, spices, &c., are obtained cheaper than at any other accessible mart. Many

[1] This was written in 1825.

pilgrims to the shrine of Buddha at Shúí Dagun pagoda in Rangoon, accompany the caravan. The merchants travel with their whole families, goods, and chattels, in the manner Symes, in his account of Ava, has described a caravan he saw in the upper country:—" On our return we met a caravan of wagons travelling from the southern country towards the capital, eighteen in number. Each wagon was drawn by six bullocks, and several spare ones followed; a good tilted roof of bamboos, covered with painted cloth, threw off the rain. They contained not only merchandise, but also the entire families—the wives, children, monkeys, cats, paroquets, and all the substance of the wagoner. They travel slowly, from ten to fifteen miles a day," &c. (This cannot be reckoned slow, in a country destitute of made roads.)

The mart to which the Chinese and Burman mutually resort for trade lies apparently far to the northward of Che-ung Mai.

Captain Wilford (*Essay in Trans. of Asiatic S. of Calcutta*, p. 59) has quoted the Abbé Grosier respecting this subject, who, in his *History of China*, informs us, that to Ponceul, a village in Yunnan, on the frontiers of Assam, Ava, and Laos, people resort from the adjacent regions, but that the entrance is forbidden to foreigners, (who are meant by foreigners?) who are not allowed to approach nearer than the bottom of the mountains (the Súthep range most probably).

And the *Periplus*, according to the above authority, describes what the latter supposes to be evidently a tribe of the Laos:—" On the confines of China, there is a nation of a short stature, with flat foreheads and flat noses; they are called Sesatæ, and by Ptolemy Basadæ." It may here, however, be remarked, that the Laos are by no means a diminutive people, and may be considered about the middle size, and that their noses and foreheads are not so flat as to be thereby remarkable.

North Laos yields some gold; but the average profit, after sifting the sand or earth, and collecting the grains, does not, it is said, average above one quarter-rupee a day to each adventurer; it is principally found in the beds of the streams descending from the Súthep range of hills; and mines exist also at Layang, where it is found mixed with the soil, and at Dáe Kham. Silver is found both here and in the Naan province, but rather sparingly, in a stony matrix. Tin ore abounds in the beds of hill-torrents, in the shape of gravel; the matrix is of a red or ochry colour. Limestone rocks abound.

Amongst precious stones they have tapthím, or the ruby; kéo,

or rock crystal; the topaz; keo ká, or marakot, the amethyst; tulapatha, or turquoises; ta meo, (lit.) cat's eye, or keo phaluk of the Siamese; cornelians, river pearls, alabaster.

The most famous place for yielding gems appears to be near Dáe Kham, at a spot termed Dán ton ngoa sa. Here a cow (but not a white one) is yearly sacrificed to the spirits of the ground, to prevent them taking offence at the invasion of their precincts—a direct infringement of the law of Buddha, which is their religious code. A representation of the divine foot of Buddha is at the same time borne aloft to charm away all malignant spirits.

The trade with the Siamese consists, Mr. Crawfurd observes, in exporting their produce and exchanging it for grain, salt, &c.; he states also, that boats leaving Che-ung Mai in August and September, do not reach Bankok until November and December, and the return of a party cannot be effected under one month; in fact the voyage only extends up to the cross range of hills.

DRESS AND APPEARANCE.

The Laos are, generally viewed, a fairer complexioned race than the Siamese or Burmans, and they have the stature and strength of the latter. Kæmpfer has remarked, that they resemble the Chinese in shape and mien, but are more slender and much handsomer than the Siamese; he adds, that they are more tawny than the Chinese. They seem to me to resemble the Burmans, rather than the Chinese. Dr. Leyden has remarked, that they resemble the Móns or Peguers in their external appearance; the Móns seem to me to have darker complexions, and are more squat in figure.

The Laos tattoo their bodies like the Burmans, but generally confine the operation to their legs; the breast is occasionally tattooed with red colour, in this respect totally differing from the Siamese, who reject the custom, deeming it a sign of barbarism. They bore and distend the lobe of the ear, and instead of rings, thrust rolls of gold, or silver, or of light wood, into the holes. They generally go naked from the waist upwards, although they, like the Siamese, have jackets, and like the Burmans, large pieces of coloured cloth, which they occasionally use as plaids; silk chequered cloth is universally worn by both sexes.

The woman wear a petticoat of silk sewed to a cotton bodice, without sleeves, dyed red; but the former is not open like the Burman women's gowns, and it reaches to the feet. The bodice, like that of Malayan, Burman, and Chinese women, is drawn tight over

the breast, a practice which soon aids the climate in injuring the bust. They do not wear shoes. They have bracelets when grown up, but children wear both these and anclets; unmarried girls wear silver-thread bracelets. Rings are worn by the women only, on ordinary occasions, but the men put on rings on festival days. The women tie their hair in a knot on the crown, like Malayan women, and dress it with golden ornaments. Kæmpfer, in casually alluding to this nation, says, that the women before marriage, wear gold and siver rolls in their ears.

The king's wives ride on elephants, with spearmen attending.

Great men have turbans with gold embroidered flowers in front; a large roll of white cloth is also used as a turban, after the Burman fashion.

The Laos are firm believers in necromancy, and their neighbours, the Siamese and Burmans, being nearly as credulous, allow them the merit of being special adepts; so much so, that they fancy the magic and incantations of a man of Laos, can visit with disease and misfortune a person residing in Ava, or Bankok.

FORCE.

The Northern Laos, nearly wedged as it were betwixt more powerful states, might be supposed to stand in need of an efficient army for its defence. It is not, however, the policy of any of these states to support an expensive standing army, and Laos, therefore, only maintains a sufficient number to garrison the walled towns, perhaps 1500 men; but the population may admit of a levy, *en masse*, of 50,000 men. People are not permitted to carry arms within the walls. The soldier is dressed in a red jacket, if he can afford it, and short drawers; the jacket has half sleeves, and is furnished with cloth buttons in front. Chiefs wear turbans with gold embroidery in front, or large white turbans, like the Burmans. Soldiers carry their powder in bamboos; and the balls, which are made of tin, in bags, wrapped round the waist; the gunpowder is manufactured here, and saltpetre abounds.

They are considered a sufficiently brave race, in the Indo-Chinese acceptation of that term. They could, perhaps, raise ten thousand men on an emergency; every man is more or less a soldier, and used to some sort of warlike weapon; their arms are similar to those of the Siamese, fire-arms, spears, swords and shields, and bows; and there is a regular armoury.

CURRENCY.

The coins used in North Laos are curved pieces of silver, called baat, rounded at the edges, and about the value of a sicca rupee; and cowries or shells, as in Bengal; on the baat are impressions of the Chakra or discus, and the trident.

LANGUAGE.

The language of the Northern Laos, being nearly the same as that of the Siamese, need not here be largely descanted on. They employ a character nearly the same as that of the Burmese.

RELIGION.

From the Laos Kadí-lok, or traditional history, it would appear that they were Sabaists, previous to their conversion to Buddhism. The exact period of this last event cannot be easily ascertained; it was in all probability introduced before the Siamese emigration took place, and may agree with their civil era, as before noticed, or A.D. 638.

When Pegu fell under the dominion of the Burmans, some Roman Catholic Missionaries, it is said, accompanied many refugees of the former nation to Che-ung Mai. It is not probable that they made many converts, from the circumstance that the people whose minds they had to work on, although not bigots, are attached to their religion, because it is suited to their habits, because it tolerates, if it does not openly permit, freedom of conscience, and because it is attended by that degree of glitter and splendour in its rites, which rivets the attachment of a people not rendered susceptible, by education or example, of more sober and rational religious impressions. They will at all times be perfectly willing to grant, that when the period of Buddha has expired, there will be nothing to prevent their adopting any other religious principles which may be divinely promulgated to them; but of that period there are several thousands of years yet to elapse.

With regard to their sacred language, the Pali, the Sanscrit scholar may here see at once that the great original, which so powerfully influenced the nations of a large portion of the globe, after it had ceased to exist as a living language, has, in reality, descended to the Laos and Siamese, in a form but little divested of its native purity.

The chief festivals of the Laos, are Trút and Songkhraan (Sonkranti). The Trút falls in the fourth month, and lasts from the disappearance of the old to the appearance of the new moon. Songkhraan happens in the fifth month, and is the Cheng-beng of the Chinese. Khau-pasa happens in the eighth month, on the first day of the moon's decrease. Ak-pasa, and Saat, fall in the eleventh month, on the first night of the decrease, when the great car is dragged about in Siam, in commemoration of the visit of Buddha to the Tavatingsa, or the Heaven of Indra. It seems that the great Buddhist festivals, namely the one where the car is drawn about by a multitude of people, and the other where the cattle are decorated with garlands, and which are both kept in Siam, do not obtain in Laos.

It is curious that the people of Laos, in whose country, it is generally acknowledged by surrounding nations, the most venerated temple of Buddha, Nang-rúng, is extant, should take the trouble of making pilgrimages to his shrine at Rangoon. The superior splendour of this last, may have induced the custom; besides, in the double capacity of merchant and devotee, his enthusiam is put to no severe test. This famous temple, Nang-rúng, is many days' journey N.W. of Che-ung Mai, whither pilgrims resort from the neighbouring regions.

Leyden has alluded to four celebrated footsteps of Buddha in Laos, which are objects of extended devotion. These, however, are not dispersed, but have been formed into one representation at Nang-rúng, rising like the steps of a pedestal above each other. This Temple lies in the forest of Pa-deng, "red forest;" a Siamese who had gone there in the retinue of the heir apparent of Che-ung Mai, described it to me. The building has nothing very remarkable about it; and, divested of its antiquity, the particulars regarding which are wanting, it would be passed by as an ordinary building.

Art. XVI.—*On the Ante-Brahmanical Worship of the Hindús.* *By* John Stephenson, D.D.

(*Continued from* p. 195.)

A singular coincidence exists between the history of the Greek word *δαιμων*, and the Sanskrit भूत (bhúta). The Greek word is applied by Homer and early Grecian writers, as is well known, to the highest intelligencies, and means one possessed of superior knowledge. The Sanskrit Bhúta is derived from the verb which signifies existence, and is applied to the elements of nature, and even to the great God Siva himself. But as *δαιμων*, with a change of religion, lost the sense of a deity, and came to be fused down to mean a demon or evil spirit, so now, in the Indian languages derived from the Sanskrit, Bhúta is entirely confined, in common speech, to a wandering ghost or malicious spirit[1]. Again, as the term *δαιμων* was, among the Christian Greeks, frequently applied, in a bad sense, to the gods their fathers worshipped; so among the Brahmanized Hindús, the term Bhúta is applied contemptuously to the Ante-Brahmanical objects of worship. In all my intercourse, however, with those classes who worship these Bhútas, I never found them spontaneously apply this term to the objects of their adoration. They style them देव (deva) and ग्रामदेव (grámadeva), gods and village gods, but never भूत (bhúta), devils. Yet again, they do not deny that the term Bhúta is applicable to these gods; but they make the acknowledgment in the spirit of those English South-American travellers, who, when robbed and stripped at a distance from their lodgings, and their horses taken from them, and most glad to employ the services of a despised animal to carry them home, would confess that they rode a donkey.

I consider, then, the pertinacity with which the common people cling to this demon-worship, notwithstanding all the ridicule cast on it by the Brahmans, and their constantly terming them gods, while the Brahmans as constantly call them devils, a strong proof that this worship was established before the arrival of the Brahmans in the country, though perhaps in some things it may have been a little modified by their influence and that of their Hindú disciples.

[1] The Bhútas are supposed to animate the bodies of dead men, and thus rove about the world. Such is the Hindú theory of ghosts.

I observe, also, in Turnour's documents relative to the religion of Ceylon, that the whole of that island, previous to the arrival of Buddha, was overrun with devil and serpent-worship; and I think analogy may lead us to conclude that the same was the case in India before the arrival of the Brahmans. I hope no one will so far mistake my meaning as to suppose that I am defending the character of the Bhútas. But to say the truth, I do not think it would be difficult to point out among the Brahmanical gods, characters as diabolical as any of these demons. In the proper English sense of the word, no such being as a devil is known among the Hindús. The idea of an angelic being fallen from its pristine holiness and glory, and now possessed of malicious qualities, is a Jewish and Christian idea, and in this sense no Hindús worship devils. What Hindús, both the followers of the Brahmanical system and all the others, do worship, is superhuman powers. Some of these beings are endued with good, and some with bad qualities; and the Hindús suppose they are to be worshipped according to their natures. When they worship a malicious being, they do it in the spirit that an honest citizen pays black-mail to a robber, and not because they respect and love his character. Such is the true nature of the Hindú worship of devils. At the same time I lament the error and depravity which lead men astray from the great and glorious Being, who created and sustains the universe, to follow after such unworthy fictions.

Vetál, then, now called by others a Bhúta, and by his worshippers a Deva, is the chief among that class of beings. The nature of the emblems by which he is worshipped, and their probable representation of the element of fire, I have already endeavoured to explain. I stated also, as a conjecture merely, that the circles might represent the course of the sun through the ecliptic; or it may be, that they were intended to mark his diurnal course in the heavens, or firmament, as it appears at night, lighted up by the starry luminaries.

There is a festival in honour of Fire or Light, which appears to me to be Ante-Brahmanical; it is the well-known feast of the Dípáli or Díválí. It is celebrated on the two last days of Asvini and the two first of Kártika.

On the first day of the festival, all, even widows and sanyásis[1], are required to anoint themselves with oil, and to burn a number of lamps, so as to make a general illumination, on pain of being cast

[1] These persons, as all conversant in Hindú customs know, are forbidden at other times to anoint their bodies.

into hell. This, it is said, was granted by Siva as a boon to Naraká-sura, whom he slew on that day. On the second day, the last of Asvini, or the day of the new moon of Asvini, is the worship of Lakshmí. On it shopkeepers and bankers take out all their account-books, put on each a rupee, and then perform their puja, by putting on them paste of sandal-wood and flowers, and then making obeisance to them. This they do to ensure prosperity during the year which is now about to commence.

On the first of Kártika, called the Bali Pratipada, there is a festival in honour of Bali, and in commemoration of his dethronement by Vámana. On that day alone is it reputable among the Hindús to play at games of chance; on it, it is so, because of Vishnu's having reputably cheated Bali out of his kingdom on that day. Bullocks have their horns adorned with red-lead, and horses are decked out in their gayest trappings.

At the same time that Vishnu banished Bali to Pátála, he conferred on him, as a vara or boon, that on this day his worship should be performed. Accordingly before every door, or in the court-yard, a piece of ground is smeared with cow-dung, and within it the image of Bali, and the images of the members of his family, all made of cow-dung, are set up. Somtimes, instead of small images in the form of men, they are content with mere rolls of cow-dung, and these they worship with flowers, and paste of sandal-wood.

The last day of the Diváli is called Yama Dvitíya. On this day, Yama, the Indian king of the infernal regions, came to visit his sister Yamuná[1], when she obtained, as a boon, that the brothers who on this day should go to their sisters' houses, and give and receive presents, should not be cast into hell. Accordingly sisters are visited on this day by their brothers, and if a man have no sisters, he dines at the house of his nearest female relation, whom he treats as a sister.

From all the circumstances, I conceive that the principal parts of this festival existed previous to the Brahmans' ascendency in India.

It is celebrated near the autumnal equinox, which, among the Hebrews, Egyptians, and other ancient nations, was the beginning of the year, and it is still the beginning of the commercial year among the Hindús. The shopkeepers and bankers begin all their books of account from the Bali Pratipada.

[1] Yamuná is the personified Jumna river. Its waters are described in the *Sama Veda* as dark and turbid, and hence perhaps the relationship with Yama.

The first and third days are expressly said in the Kártika Máhátmya to have been established as boons given to an Asur and a Daitya, slain by the Brahmans' gods, which I think may, without much stress, be considered as meaning, that when Vámana had defrauded Bali of his kingdom, he found this festival so firmly established among the Hindús as to make it safer to adopt it, and represent it as a boon granted to Bali, than to attempt to abolish it.

Whether the images of Bali be an innovation or not, he does not seem to be much honoured by this worship. This much is certain, that the Brahmans never make an image of cow-dung to any being they respect; nor is it to be supposed they would have paid Bali even this shadow of an honour, had it not been as a kind of concession made to the subjects of a virtuous prince, of whose generous disposition they had taken advantage to work his ruin.

Connected with the Díválí is another festival, held fifteen days later, *i. e.* at the full moon of Kártika. It was instituted, it is said, in honour of Siva's having slain the Asur named Tripura, who had three cities, one of gold, another of silver, and another of iron. On that day the Hindús light up the Dípamálá, an obelisk made of stone, which stands before the doors of Siva's and Parvati's temples. This Dípamálá has places all round it made to contain oil, and to allow a wick to burn in them. At the top there is a large concavity, which is filled with oil on the day of the festival, and in which is then inserted a large roll of rags. When all these wicks are lighted a grand illumination is produced. I have no doubt, both from the appearance of these illuminated pillars, and the analogy with the above-mentioned festival, that the intention was to represent the heavenly luminaries, especially as they appear at night. But whether it was originally an adjunct to the Díválí, or a different form of it, prevailing in a district where the month began at the full moon, instead of the new moon, (a schism still subsisting among the Hindús,) I do not know any grounds for determining.

Fire, therefore, especially as manifested in the sun and heavenly bodies, seems to have been either the chief deity, or one of the principal objects of worship among the Hindús, before the arrival of the Brahmans among them. This deity was represented by pyramidal stones, painted red below and white above, to which bloody offerings were made. To this deity the beginning of their year was kept sacred, and the festival celebrated with illuminations.

Art. XVII.—*An Account of the Kánphatís of Danodhar, in Cutch, with the Legend of Dharamnáth, their founder.* By Lieutenant T. Postans.

Read the 3rd of February, 1838.

Danodhar is the name applied to a large irregularly shaped and lofty hill, situated on the edge of the Runn of Cutch, about twenty miles NW. from Bhooj; attached to this place is the popular tradition, accounting for the present appearance of the Runn, and which also, at some remote period, appears to have been the means of founding the sect of Jogís, commonly known as Kánphatís.

The story goes, that during the reign of a mighty Rájá of Cutch, by name Gaddeh Sing, a Hindu Fakír of great sanctity, whilst travelling through the country, arrived at the city of *Puttun*, the then capital and residence of the Rájá of Cutch, (the place was situated a few miles from the present Mandavie, on the site of Raepoor), Dharamnáth was accompanied by his son Gharíbnáth; the latter, being despatched to the city to beg, returned unsuccessful: his father, incensed at the want of charity evinced by the inhabitants of Puttun, cursed the place, and every other bearing its name through the province, saying, "Sab pattan sab dattan," in consequence of this, every town or city in Cutch so called, became *dattan* (or desolate). Quitting this scene of their maledictions, they journeyed to Danodhar, which Dharamnáth determined to make the scene of a Tapsí (or penance); for this purpose he fixed upon one of the highest of the peaks of the hill, and placing his head upon a pán leaf, is reputed to have remained standing upon his head for twelve years: Gharíbnáth, his son, fixed upon some spot in the neighbouring jungles for his dhúní, or place of retirement from the world.

At the expiration of the period of Dharamnáth's penance, beings of another world appeared to him, and giving him assurances of divine approbation, begged him to assume his natural position; he, feeling the power within him, assured his visitors that he was extremely loth to do so, being persuaded that in whatever direction he should first turn his eyes, desolation would ensue: if cities, towns, or inhabited portions of the earth, they would become ruined, and abandoned; if cultivated tracts, they would become barren and desolate. They desired him to look towards the North and West,

where then flowed the sea; he did so, and the consequence was, the sea was in the self-same moment completely dried up, where the largest ships had before floated; nothing presented itself but an interminable sandy and desert plain, known and wondered at to this day as the Runn of Cutch. Dharamnáth was then taken up into heaven[1]. Such is the tradition as related to me by the Pír, or principal at Danodhar, the head quarters of the sect of Jogís, called Kánphatís, from the peculiar ornaments which they wear in their ears. The originator of this sect is supposed to have been the renowned Dharamnáth, of Tapsí celebrity. To the eastward and at the foot of the hill, is a large range of buildings, the approach to which is through a thick jungle of thorny milk-bush, and these buildings are only visible when the traveller is immediately upon them; they are enclosed within a wall which is turreted and loop-holed for defence, necessary, no doubt, in former and more unsettled times, when bands from some of the predatory tribes, on the other side of the Runn, made forays through Cutch for the purpose of plunder, little heeding the sanctity of those they pillaged. The buildings within this wall consist of temples, tombs of former pírs, with numerous houses and offices for the Jogís, as well as those who may lay claim to their charity, for they are hospitallers, or at least they more resemble that description of brotherhood than any I can compare them to. Their creed and practice being, to feed and shelter, without any distinction of persons, sect or caste, all who may demand their charity, without limit to the time of sojourn, or the quantity of food supplied.

The number of Jogís at Danodhar amounts to about twelve; to meet the expense of their charity they possess about twenty villages in various parts of Cutch, some by original grants, and others acquired by purchase; the revenue thus derived is all employed in procuring grain for distribution. In seasons of drought and scarcity, to which Cutch is periodically subject, the demands upon them are proportionally large—they are, however, rich.

The internal arrangements at Danodhar are on a very extensive scale; in one building four immense copper cauldrons are erected about five feet from the ground, with stoves underneath each; these are employed in boiling rice when they have a numerous company of applicants. On the opposite side of the court-yard is a large room in which the guests seat themselves to partake of the food. Opium in various proportions is also distributed. Not the

[1] This tradition extends as far back as 450 years.

[2] From Hindustani kán, an ear, phatna, to split.

least remarkable of the tenets of this sect is that which compels the Kánphatís to a life of celibacy, to which they most strictly adhere; nor do they scruple to admit any who may desire to enrol themselves in their band under the same view: whether from this, the very secluded life they lead, or other causes, their number is but few. The situation of pír, or superior of this establishment, a post of some consideration and importance, is attained by election, but is nominally under the patronage of the Rao of Cutch, who, with some ceremony, invests the pír with a dress of honour, and seats him on the gadí as chief of the Kánphatís.

On the occasion of my visit to this place, I was pleased with the very obliging manner in which my queries were answered, and the trouble which was taken to show me over the whole of the building, explaining the use of all I saw. The pír himself received me seated on his gadí in his hall of audience, surrounded by all the members of the fraternity. He is a young man, of the name of Warnáth, of the caste rabarí (or shepherd), and had only a few months previously succeeded to the pírship. His dress was somewhat curious, consisting of the ordinary angarkhá, or body-cloth, a red shawl thrown over his shoulders, with a turban of blue silk; some of his ornaments were costly; I will only mention two massive gold bracelets, of the barbaric workmanship peculiar to Cutch. A peculiar kind of ring decorates or rather distorts the ears of these Jogís, its material is generally rhinoceros' horn, or agate; these earrings are of enormous size, and stretch the lobe of the ear to a most unsightly and painful degree, (hence their title of Kánphatís); that of the pír's are made of richer material, gold, set with precious stones. With the exception of the pír, whose dress I have described[1], the caste wear the brickdust-coloured cloth peculiar to the Fakírs throughout India. One of the privileges of the principal of this establishment is, that he does not feel himself obliged to return a salute from any one, or answer a question even from the rájá of Cutch. Suspended from his neck is a small whistle of rhinoceros' horn, which he blows as a reply, and which he also uses when he performs darsan to his divinities; of this privilege he seemed particularly proud. I ventured to ask if I might commit his figure to paper—he was rather pleased at the idea; his age, he told me, was thirty, but he is a sickly-looking man, old beyond his years, with a

[1] Captain Burnes tells me that when he visited Danodhar, the former pír wore his turban of matted hair, in imitation of that worn by all Hindu devotees; "but," as Captain B. observes, "fashions no doubt change at Danodhar as elsewhere."

peculiarly melancholy and painful expression of countenance, the effect of the excessive use of opium, of which vice he made no secret; it is indeed not only common to this sect, but to the country generally.

There is something throughout the whole of this establishment that strikingly recalls to a European some of the Catholic institutions in continental Europe. I could not help feeling some share of respect for these poor Jogís, who sacrifice so much for seclusion and charitable purposes.

The hill being very high, and the scene of Dharamnáth's performance at least a day's journey off, I was deterred from attempting it. A small temple is erected on the spot.

Having made my salutations to the pír, and to the hospitable Jogís, and the worthy horseman who accompanied me having taken his pill of opium, I returned to the tents, distant about three miles.

Art. XVIII. ARABIC INSCRIPTION FROM CHINA.

Introduction.

An Inscription on fine Chinese paper was, some months since, presented to the Society by one of its Members, John Romer, Esq., to whom it had been given by the Captain of a vessel returning from the East, who did not remember how or where he had obtained it. It is four feet eight inches in length, by two feet four inches in width; and a reduced copy of it is herewith given. After it had been suspended a short time in the Society's Meeting Room, a letter was received by the Director from John Shakespear, Esq., with a transcript of this singular document in the ordinary character, and a translation. It is not easy to account for the origin of this inscription. It was certainly done in China, as appears from the stamps attached to it, which were made before the inscription was written, unless room was purposely left for placing them. The characters are drawn with freedom, as though executed by one accustomed to such writing They are, however, so distorted, that some time elapsed before it was even suspected that they were Arabic.

TO PROFESSOR WILSON, DIRECTOR R. A. S.

London, 5th Jan., 1838.

Sir,

Happening, a few days ago, to observe a scroll of rathe extraordinary characters, suspended in the meeting-room of the Royal Asiatic Society, I have attempted a transcript in more usual characters, as well as a translation, both of which I beg leave to transmit to you. There are, however, still some few Chinese characters, with which I am unacquainted, and of which in my papers no notice is taken.

From the translation it will appear that the original consists of various invocations on the Divinity, in which the Mohammedan *asmá husna,* glorious names or attributes, are chiefly introduced. It

was probably designed as a *taawíz,* or amulet. The paper, however, seems a matter of curiosity, rather for the unusual manner in which the Arabic is written, apparently with a Chinese pencil or brush, than for its intrinsic meaning.

The translation is given in columns, corresponding to the original; because, from the context, it is not clear whether it is designed to be read from right to left throughout, in the Arabic way, or from top to bottom of each column separately, in the customary manner of the Chinese.

I remain, Sir, with great respect,
Your very obedient, humble servant,
JOHN SHAKESPEAR.

The Rev. Mr. Kidd, Professor of the Chinese language, has favoured us with the reading of the Chinese words on the inscription. These are in the ancient seal character, and, as much latitude exists in their formation, he speaks with some uncertainty respecting the exact identity of one or two of them. Those on the right side he would read, " Tsun she yih tang," and those on the left, " ma gan ping yin —ming chih keung." They are probably proper names; *tang* refers to the public courts or palaces of the empire, and that part may be translated " the palace of the illustrious age." The words following immediately after *ma* mean, " tranquil; luminous; official seal." The last three words mean, " intelligence," " uprightness," and " a desert," but there can be little doubt that they are proper names, intended to be read in the following order: " sealed by Ma gan ping, in the district or town of Ming chih keung, at the court or palace of Tsun she yih."

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ۞

(First Column.)

الهي انت الحي القيوم فلك الحمد ۞

الهي انت المبدء المبين فلك الحمد ۞

الهي انت الشافي فلك الحمد ۞

الهي انت المحيء المميت فلك الحمد ۞

الهي انت الكاشف الفارغ فلك الحمد ۞

الهي انت الاحد الصمد فلك الحمد ۞

الهي انت الشهيد المعيد فلك الحمد ۞

الهي انت الباطن الطاهر فلك الحمد ۞

الهي انت الغفور الشكور فلك الحمد ۞

الهي انت الرحمن الرحيم فلك الحمد ۞

الهي انت الباقي المؤخر فلك الحمد ۞

الهي انت القاهر المقسط فلك الحمد ۞

الهي انت الواسع السميع فلك الحمد ۞

الهي انت الجامع المامع فلك الحمد ۞

الهي انت الملك القدوس فلك الحمد ۞

الهي انت العزيز الجبار فلك الحمد ۞

In the name of God, the merciful, the merciful.

(1.)

My God, thou art

The (ever) Living, the (self) Existent;

The Manifester, the Manifest;

The Healer;

The Life-giver, the Death-causer;

The Revealer, the Completer;

The One, the Eternal*;

The Present (in all), the Restorer (to life);

The Hidden, the Pure†;

The most ready to forgive, the most Grateful;

The Merciful, the Merciful;

The Lasting, the Last;

The Conqueror, the Just (distributor);

The vast in Beneficence, the Hearer;

The Gatherer (together), the‡

The King, the Holy;

The Glorious, the Mighty;

therefore, to Thee (be) the praise.

* Or Lord (to whom all have recourse).

† Instead of الطاهر which appears in the original, and is here rendered Pure, perhaps الظاهر *Evident, manifest,* may be intended.

‡ The original, here, has الملامع which is not known as a single word; it is, therefore, left at present untranslated.

(Second Column.)

الهي انت زيّ لازيّ الا

الهي انت ستار العيوب فلك الحمد ۞

الهي انت الرقيب الحسيب فلك الحمد ۞

الهي انت المغيث المقيت فلك الحمد ۞

الهي انت الغياث المغيث فلك الحمد ۞

الهي انت الواجد الماجد فلك الحمد ۞

الهي انت الهادي الرشيد فلك الحمد ۞

الهي انت القاهر الظاحر* فلك الحمد ۞

الهي انت الخالق الباري فلك الحمد ۞

الهي انت البر الكبير فلك الحمد ۞

الهي انت العز الاعظم فلك الحمد ۞

الهي انت الحفيظ الحافظ فلك الحمد ۞

الهي انت الرفع النافع فلك الحمد ۞

الهي انت الرافع المانع فلك الحمد ۞

الهي انت السالم المؤمن فلك الحمد ۞

الهي انت المالك الملك فلك الحمد ۞

* A word not Arabic: and الظافر seems most likely intended.

(2.)

My God, Thou art

Form, not form (the rest effaced);
The most ready to hide (our) faults;
The Inspector, the caller to account;
The Aider, the Preserver;
The Aid (of the distressed), the Aider;
The Inventor, the Glorious;
The Guide, the Unerring;
The Subduer; the Victorious*;
The Maker, the Creator;
The Good, the Great;
The Glory, the Greatest;
The Protector, the Guardian;
The Exaltation†, the Profitable;
The Exalter, the Prohibiter (of evil);
The Safe, the giver of safety;
The Possessor, the King;

therefore, to Thee (be) the praise.

* This word is doubtful. The original appears to be الظاحر which does not exist in the Arabic; it is, therefore, translated as if intended for الظافر

† Or Repulsion, or Removing.

(Third Column.)

(Two lines effaced.)

الهي انت التوّاب الوهاب فلك الحمد ۞

الهي انت الباعث الوارث فلك الحمد ۞

الهى انت الرازق الواسع فلك الحمد ۞

الهي انت الحميد المجيد فلك الحمد ۞

الهي انت الغفور الودود فلك الحمد ۞

الهي انت الغافر الغفار فلك الحمد ۞

الهي انت الرافع النافع فلك الحمد ۞

الهي انت النور المنوّر فلك الحمد ۞

الهي انت المحيط الباسط فلك الحمد ۞

الهي انت الرفيع البديع فلك الحمد ۞

الهي انت المعافي فلك الحمد ۞

الهي انت الكافي فلك الحمد ۞

الهي انت الملك المالك فلك الحمد ۞

الهي انت فالق الصباح فلك الحمد ۞

الهي انت الاوّل الاخر فلك الحمد وصلّي الله علي رسوله ۞

(3.)

My God, Thou art

* * * * * * * * *

* * * * * * * * *

The most Propitious, most Munificent;

The Raiser (from the dead), the Inheritor;

The Provider (of food), the most ample in beneficence;

The Praised, the glorified;

The most ready to forgive, the most kind;

The Pardoner, the most disposed to pardon;

The Exalter, the Profiter;

The Light, the Light-giving;

The Surrounder, the (all) Provider;

The (most) High, the Marvellous;

The ready to excuse;

The (all) Sufficient;

The Sovereign, the Possessor;

The Creator (divider) of the morn,

therefore, to Thee (be) the praise.

My God, Thou art the First and the Last; therefore to Thee (be) the praise.

And the blessing of God rest on his Messenger.

Art XIX.—*Essays on the Puránas.* II. *By Professor* Horace Hayman Wilson, *Director of the Royal Asiatic Society.*

(*Continued from* p. 72.)

Read 20th April, 1839.

The Pádma Purána, which in the Pauranic lists occupies the second place, and in its own enumeration the first, is a work of considerable extent; according to the best authorities, and to its own statements, it consists of fifty-five thousand slokas, and the copies that are current actually contain little less than that number, or about 50,000.

The Pádma Purána occurs in various portions—according to its own text in five—the first of which treats of the appearance of Virát or Brahmá, and primary creation; it is termed the Paushkara, or Srishtí Khanda. The second describes the formation and divisions of the earth, and various places of pilgrimage, whence it is called the Bhúmí, or Tírtha Khanda. The third contains an account of the regions above the earth, and of some celebrated princes, and is called the Swarga Khanda. The genealogies of princes are comprised in the fourth part; and the fifth, containing the Brahma Gíta, explains the means by which moksha, or final emancipation, may be attained. This is the specification of the divisions of the Purána which is given in the first chapter of the Srishtí Khanda, but it is not very exactly applicable to the work as it occurs. The three first portions are rightly denominated the Srishtí, Bhúmí, and Swarga Khandas; but the fourth is called the Pátála Khanda, from its opening with a description of Pátála, the regions under the earth; and the fifth, or Uttara Khanda, is by no means restricted to philosophical discussion. There is current, however, a sixth division, the Kriyá Yoga Sára, which treats of the practice of devotion, and more nearly corresponds to the definition of the fifth portion given in the text.

The Paushkara, or Srishtí Khanda, consists of forty-six chapters and about 8500 stanzas. Lomaharshana, the disciple of Vyása, sends his son Ugrasravas the Súta to Naimisháranya, to relate the Puránas to Saunaka and other Rishis assembled at that place. At Saunaka's request he communicates to them that Purána, which, from its containing an account of the lotus (Padma), whence Brahmá appeared in order to create the world, is termed the Pádma Purána. Súta, in

replying, proclaims also his right by birth and profession to narrate the Puránas, which were in the present Kalpa imparted by Vishnu in the Matsya avatára to Brahmá, and by him to the gods in the first instance, and in the second to Lomaharshana, by Vyása, who was a form of Brahmá. We have here also the assertion that the Puránas consisted originally of 100 kotís, a thousand million of stanzas, of which 400,000 were thought sufficient for the instruction of man—the rest being preserved by the gods. Súta then recapitulates all that he purposes to narrate to the Rishis, the whole of which he says was formerly imparted by Brahmá to his will-begotten son, the patriarch Pulastya, by whom it was related at Gangadwára to Prince Bhíshma; in fact, therefore, Pulastya is the person to whom this portion of the Pádma Purána is properly to be ascribed.

Pulastya, at the request of Bhíshma, instructs him how the universe was framed. The process is as usual in the Puránas that of the Sánkhya philosophy, or from the eternal Pradhána, proceed successively Mahat, Ahankára, the senses, the rudimental elements, and the gross elements, to which is superadded the egg of creation, as in Manu. Creation, however, is the will and act of the uncreated supreme Brahma, who takes the form of Purusha, and in that character infuses into Prakriti the germ of activity. Brahma is, in his various functions, Brahmá, Vishnu, and Siva; but there is a peculiarity in this chapter which deserves notice: the different Puránas commonly identify either Vishnu or Siva with the Supreme, but in this part of the Pádma, Brahmá and Brahma, the instrument and first cause of creation, are represented as the same; the primeval, excellent, beneficent, and supreme Brahma, in the form of Brahmá and the rest, is the creation and the creator, preserves and is preserved, devours and is devoured, the first immaterial cause being, as is common in the pantheism of the Puránas, also the material cause and substance of the universe; notwithstanding, however, the character here given to Brahmá, the Pádma Purána is, according to its own classification, a Vaishnava Purána, and deserves that character by its frequent intimation of the supremacy of Vishnu.

The third chapter contains an account of the divisions of time, from an instant to the life of Brahmá, conformably to the usual Pauranik chronology, and in words common to different Puránas. This is introductory to the renewal of creation, after a night of Brahmá, when that deity, in the character of Vishnu, assumed the form of a boar, and having placed the earth upon the waters, created its several divisions, and peopled them with animate and inanimate beings. We have then another detail of the creation, rather of a

mystical description, in which the different orders of beings proceed from modified conditions of the body of Brahmá. These not multiplying, Brahmá produces the Prajápatis from his will, then the Rudras, then Swayambhuva Manu, whose daughters, Akúti and Prasúti, married to Daksha and Ruchi, give birth to daughters, who are espoused to the Rishis, forming the earlier patriarchal families, which are evidently nothing more than an allegorical representation of the institution of moral obligations and ceremonial rites by certain holy personages, the first teachers of the Hindu religion. All these details occur in the same order, and in essentially the same words, in the early chapters of the Vishnu Purána.

The same identity continues with regard to the origin of Lakshmí from the churning of the ocean, but the parallel is then suspended by the introduction of the story of Daksha's sacrifice, which is narrated at some length. We have then an account of the family of the second Daksha, as in the Vishnu and other Puránas—short notices of the several Manwantaras—the story of Vena and Prithu—the origin of Vaivaswata and the descendants of the sun in the line of Ikshwáku to Srutáyus, who it is said was killed in the great war. The genealogy of this chapter is little else than a string of names, and agrees with that given in the Kurmma and Matsya Puránas, better than with that of the Vishnu.

Bhíshma then requests to be informed of the origin and nature of the Pitris, or progenitors of mankind; in reply to which, Pulastya describes the Sráddha, or offerings to deceased ancestors, and the merits of its celebration, particularly at Gaya. These subjects, illustrated by the story of Brahmadatta, as it occurs also in the Hari Vansa, occupy three chapters, from the ninth to the eleventh inclusive. The two next chapters contain an account of the dynasty of lunar princes to the time of Krishna and his immediate posterity, rather more in detail than the solar genealogy, but the same in substance as in other Puránas.

We have next a series of legends relating to the wars between the gods and Titans or Asuras, which, although not restricted to the Pádma Purána, are in some degree peculiar in their order and details. The Asuras are described as enjoying the ascendency over the Devatas, when Vrihaspati, taking advantage of their leader Sukra's being enamoured of a nymph of heaven, sent by Indra to interrupt his penance, comes amongst the former as Sukra, and misleads them into irreligion by preaching heretical doctrines; the doctrines and practices he teaches are Jain, and in a preceding passage it is said that the sons of Raji embraced the Jina Dharmma—

notices which are of some value with regard to the age of the compilation.

An inquiry into the cause of the enmity that prevailed between the two heroes, Karna and Arjuna, suggests a curious legend of a quarrel between Brahmá and Siva, in which a being born from the perspiration of the former puts the latter to flight. Siva repairs to Vishnu, who offers to put alms into Siva's dish, when Siva pierces the hand of Vishnu, and the blood that flows in consequence fills the Kapála, and becomes a Nara, a man—the saint Nara in another birth, and Arjuna in another. Brahmá's progeny becomes in a succeeding existence Karna, and hence the hostility of the two, the legend considering them evidently as types of the followers of Brahmá and of Siva in a contest for superiority. The same notion of a struggle between the two sects prevails in what follows. The lustre of Brahmá's fifth head excites the envy of the gods, and Siva, at their suggestion, tears it off. To expiate the crime of injuring a Brahman, Siva, by the advice of Vishnu, repairs to various Tírthas, and this leads to the Pushkara Máhátmya, or the description of the holiness of Pushkara or Pokhar Lake near Ajmeer, a subject that more or less pervades the rest of the Srishti Khanda from the fifteenth chapter to the end.

The praises of Pushkara, instructions for bathing and worshipping there, and the efficacy of gifts and sacrifices performed at this sacred spot, are abundantly interspersed with legends, some peculiar to the work and to the subject, and others belonging to the general body of tradition and mythology, but rather arbitrarily connected in the Pádma Purána with the sanctity of Pushkara. Of the former class we have Brahmá's throwing down a lotus (Pushkara) from heaven, whence the name of the place where it fell; his performing a solemn sacrifice there; his marriage with Gáyatrí; the displeasure of his former bride Sávitrí, in consequence of which she denounced imprecations on all the gods and Brahmans; the metamorphosis of King Prabhanjana to a tiger, and his liberation; the fidelity of the cow Nandá, and her elevation to heaven; and similar stories, some of which are curious, but most puerile. Of fictions which are to be found in several other Puránas, we have the death of Vritrásura by Indra's vajra, or thunderbolt, formed of the bones of the sage Dadhíchi, and Agastya's humbling the Vindhya mountain, drinking up the ocean, and destroying the Asuras who had sought refuge beneath its waters. The bed of the ocean was afterwards replenished by King Bhagíratha when he brought the Ganges from heaven.

The subjects that next occur are Vratas, or acts of self-denial and devotion, to be performed on particular occasions, as on the third lunation of each month in the year, when worship is to be addressed to some form or other of Gaurí, either with or without her consort Siva; also on certain specified days, as the Vibhúta Dwádasí, Visoka Dwádasí, Kalyána Saptamí, Bhaimi Ekádasí, and others, illustrated as usual by legends, amongst which the birth of Vasishtha and Agastya occurs, and the story of the latter's drinking the ocean is repeated as introductory to the efficacy of worshipping Agastya at Pushkara Tírtha. Márkandeya Muni's going in pilgrimage to Pushkara gives occasion to some account of him, and of his intercourse with Rámachandra, who passed a month at Pushkara, and performed Sráddha there when on his way to the scene of his exile, circumstances of which the Rámáyana takes no notice. Kshemankari Deví, a form of Durga residing at Pushkara, is wooed by Mahishásura, whose origin is related; he attempts to carry her off by force, but is slain, and an account is then given of some other exploits of the goddess. We have then a eulogium of the merits of giving food and drink, illustrated by the punishment of Sweta, king of Ilavrata-varsha, condemned to gnaw his own bones after death, as a penance for his omitting to distribute food in charity whilst he lived; and by anecdotes of Rámachandra, including the history of Danda, after whom the Dandakáranya, or great southern forest, was named; Ráma acts as an umpire between a vulture and an owl in a dispute for a nest, and the nest being assigned to the owl, the vulture, who was King Brahmadatta, condemned to this transformation, resumes his form and goes to heaven. After returning to Ayodhyá, and celebrating the Rájasúya sacrifice, Ráma again travels to the South, and pays a visit to Vibhíshana: on his quitting Lanká he broke down the bridge that connected the island with the main land, and on his way home visited Pushkara and shook hands with Brahmá.

After these legends we have an account of the creation in the Pádma Kalpa, prefaced by a second detail of the divisions of time, closing in a periodical dissolution; during which Náráyana, sleeping upon the waters, is beheld by Márkandeya Muni, who, by desire of the deity, enters the celestial body, and beholds in it all existent things. This legend occurs in several Puránas, particularly in that which bears the name of the Muni. Brahmá, then becoming manifest from a golden lotus, creates the world and its divisions out of the several parts of the lotus, whence this period of creation is called the Pádma Kalpa. After the formation of the world, and the destruc-

tion of the demons Madhu and Kaitabha who sought to destroy Brahmá, by Vishnu, the work proceeds as before, through the intervention of the mind-engendered Prajápatis, the daughters of Daksha, and progeny of Kasyapa. The concluding chapters describe the wars of the gods and demons, the destruction of Máya and Kálanemi by Vishnu, and the birth of Skanda for the destruction of Táraka, the overthrow and death of the demon, and Skanda's marriage with Devasená. "Then," concludes Suta, "Pulastya departed, and Bhíshma having become filled with true knowledge, returned to his government of Hastinapura." A final chapter contains a tolerably copious index of the contents of the Srishti Khanda.

Bhúmi Khanda. The second division of the Pádma Purána is of much the same extent as the first, containing about 7500 stanzas, which are distributed amongst 133 short chapters. It opens with a question put by the Rishis to Súta, how it happened that Prahráda, or Prahláda, a daitya, and natural enemy of the gods, could have been inspired with the devotion he entertained for Vishnu, and finally united with that deity. Súta replies by stating, that the same question had been formerly asked of Brahmá by Vyása, and he repeats Brahmá's answer as Vyása had communicated it to him, which is a narrative of Prahláda's birth and actions in a preceding kalpa. This allusion to Prahláda, it may be observed, without any preliminary details, implies a knowledge of his history, which can only be derived from some earlier work; what this may have been, it is not very possible to ascertain, as the legend occurs in several Puránas, and mention is made of Prahláda in the Mahábhárata. For his character, however, of a devout worshipper of Vishnu, the Vishnu Purána and Bhágavata are the especial authorities.

In order to account for Prahláda's eminence as a Vaishnava, Súta repeats a story of Sivasarman, a Brahman of Dwáraká, who had five sons, equally remarkable for their piety and filial devotion. The latter is put to the test in various ways by their father, and being proof against every trial, the father and the four elder sons are united after death with Vishnu; Somasarman, the fifth son, was also desirous of the same elevation, and was engaged at Sálagráma Kshetra in that contemplation on Vishnu which it is the great object of this part of the Pádma Purána to inculcate as the most efficacious means of union with the divinity, as it is here said, "The imperishable state is not obtained by sacrifice, by penance, by abstract meditation, by holy knowledge, but by thinking upon Vishnu: the destroyer of Madhu is not beheld through gifts or through pilgrimage, but through the union that is effected by intense contemplation: the

Brahman enters the state of Vishnu by the road of profound mental identification." Whilst Somasarman is endeavouring to effect this coalescence, an alarm spreads through the hermitage that the Daityas are approaching, and a loud clamour ensues, which distracts his thoughts, and fills his mind with fear of the foes of the gods; he dies whilst under these apprehensions, and is consequently born again as a member of that race which engrossed his last thoughts. He is born as Prahláda, the son of Hiranyakasipu, a daitya, but from the influence of his former life a worshipper of Vishnu. In the war between the gods and demons, however, he takes part with his family, and is killed by the discus of Vishnu. He is again born of the same parents and with the same name, and is then the Prahláda who is the hero of the usual story, the pious son of an impious father, the latter of whom was destroyed by Vishnu in the Nrisinha, or man-lion avatára, and the former was raised to the rank of Indra for his life, and finally united with Vishnu. The Pádma Purána, therefore, in borrowing the subject of this legend from other sources, has added to it circumstances peculiar to itself, evidently of sectarial tenor, and comparatively recent invention.

The elevation of Prahláda to the rank of king of heaven—a dignity which no other Puránas assign him, although they make him monarch over a division of Pátála—suggests to the Rishis an inquiry into the nature of celestial dominion, and upon whom and by whom it is conferred; and this introduces a legend of the birth of a king of the gods, or Indra, as the son of Kasyapa and Aditi, in consequence of a boon to that effect promised to Aditi by Vishnu. Kasyapa's other wives, Diti and Danu, the mothers of the Daityas and Dánavas, feeling mortified at the inferiority of their children to those of their sister-wife Aditi, Kasyapa, in order to console them, enters upon a long philosophical disquisition upon the nature of body and soul. The discussion is conducted in the form of an allegory, in which the Senses endeavour to negotiate a perpetual alliance with Soul, and Soul, after several vain struggles to evade all connexion with the Senses, at last escapes from them altogether by the aid of meditation.

After describing the determination of the chief Daityas to raise themselves to a level with the gods by arduous penance, the Rishis rather abruptly ask Súta to tell them the story of a Brahman called Suvrata, the son of Somasarman and Sumanas, who was a devoted worshipper of Vishnu, and who became, therefore, in a future birth, Indra, the son of Kasyapa and Aditi. The legend is an insipid sectarial fiction, but contains some curious matter, especially regarding virtue and vice, the reward of the former and punishment of the

latter after death, the road to the judgment-seat of Yama, his appearance, and the tortures to which sinners are condemned. The text then reverts to the austerities of the demons, and particularly those of Hiranyakasipu, which compel Brahmá to grant him a boon that he shall not be slain by any living creature; it therefore becomes necessary for Vishnu to destroy him in the non-descript form of the Nrisinha; whilst in the Avatára of the boar, he puts to death Hiranyáksha and other demons. These events are briefly referred to, and are but introductory to a longer legend of the birth of Vritra, the son of Diti, for the destruction of Indra, and of his being circumvented and slain by the deity. We have then the story of Indra's cutting to pieces another offspring of Diti, destined to be his foe whilst yet in the womb, and thus giving rise to the forty-nine Maruts or winds.

In like manner as Indra was made king of the gods, different persons or things were appointed by Brahmá supreme over their respective orders of beings; and amongst these, the list of which conforms with that which occurs in other Puránas, Prithu, the son of Vena, was made monarch of the earth. This leads to the story of Vena and Prithu, which is narrated in the usual manner and customary words; but a supplement is added to the legend of Vena, which is peculiar to this Purána. According to this, Tunga, the son of Atri, having propitiated Náráyana, by penance, obtained a son equal to Indra; this son was Vena, who was made by the Rishis the first king of the earth; he commenced his reign auspiciously, but lapsing into the Jain heresy, the sages deposed him and pummelled him until the Nisháda, or progenitor of the wild races, was extracted from his left thigh, and Prithu from his right arm. Being freed from sin by the birth of the Nisháda, Vena retires to the banks of the Narmadá, where he performs penance in honour of Vishnu, who appears to him, and reads him a lecture on the merit of gifts of various kinds, especially at different holy places or Tírthas. But persons are also considered as Tírthas, as a Guru, a father, a wife; and in illustration of this latter, Vishnu tells a story of Sukalá, the wife of a Vaisya, who, having gone on pilgrimage, leaves Sukalá in great affliction; her female friends come to console her, and their conversation includes many precepts for the conduct of women, exemplified by narratives. Sukalá continuing to mourn for her absent lord, Kámadeva and Indra attempt to seduce her from her faith, but are foiled, and she remains faithful to her husband, who returns from pilgrimage, and receives blessings from heaven in recompense of the virtues of his wife.

Another series of tales is recited by Vishnu, in illustration of a parent's being a Tírtha, or holy shrine. It commences with an account of the filial piety of Sukarman, the son of Kundala, a Brahman of Kurukshetra, but branches off into several other stories: one of the most remarkable of these is a narrative, of which the original is to be found in the Mahábhárata, that of Yayáti's transferring his infirmities to his son Puru. It is embellished, however, in this place, with much additional matter, and begins with Yayáti's being invited by Indra to heaven, and being conveyed on the way thither by Mátali, Indra's charioteer. A philosophical conversation takes place between the king and Mátali, in which the imperfection of all corporeal existence, and the incomplete felicity of every condition of life are discussed. These attributes belong, it is said, even to the gods themselves, for they are affected with disease, subject to death, disgraced by the passions of lust and anger, and are consequently instances of imperfection and of misery. Various degrees of vice are then described, and their prevention or expiation are declared to be the worship of Siva or Vishnu, between whom there is no difference; they are but one, as is the case indeed with Brahmá also; for "Brahmá, Vishnu, and Maheswara, are one form, though three gods: there is no difference between the three: the difference is that of attributes alone." The result of the conversation is, that Yayáti returns to earth, where, by his virtuous administration, he renders all his subjects exempt from passion and decay. Yama complains that men no longer die, and Indra sends Kámadeva and his daughter Asruvindumati to endeavour to excite passion in the breast of Yayáti; they succeed, and it is in order to become a fit husband for the latter that the aged king applies to his sons to give him their youth in exchange for his decrepitude. As elsewhere related, they all refuse, except Puru, the youngest. After a time, however, Yayáti is prevailed upon by the persuasion of his young bride, at the instigation of Indra, to go to heaven, on which he restores his youth to Puru, and proceeds with his subjects to Indra, who sends them to Siva, and he directs them to Vishnu, in whose sphere they obtain a final abode.

We then come to a series of narratives in illustration of the assertion that a Guru, or spiritual preceptor, is a Tírtha. Chyavana, the son of Bhrigu, wandering over the world in pilgrimage, comes to the south bank of the Narmadá, where a Linga, called Omkára, is erected; and having worshipped it, he sits under an Indian fig-tree, where he overhears a conversation between Kunjara, an old parrot, and his four sons, in which the latter relate to the former what they

have beheld in their flight during the day. Several stories are narrated, the moral of which is the same, the good effects of venerating holy men, and meditating upon Vishnu. In the course of them, the efficacy of various holy places in expiating sin is described, and in one of the stories it appears that the Ganges, the lake Mánasa, Prayága, Pushkara, and Benares, are of less sanctity than the river Revá or Narmadá in various parts of its course, as at the confluence of the Kubjá, Kapilá, Meghanádá, and Chichuká, at Saivágára, Bhrigukshetra, Mahishmatí, Sríkantha, and Mandaleswara, places which are little known beyond their immediate vicinity, and of which the specification indicates the local origin of this part at least of the Purána. One long narrative is peculiar to the work, and relates to the destruction of the demon Tunda by Nahusha, the son of Ayus, and the marriage of the latter with Asokasundarí, the daughter of Párvati. We have also an account of the destruction of Vitunda, the son of Tunda, by Bhagavatí herself. Kunjara then relates to Chyavana an account of the preceding births of his sons and himself.

After this, Vishnu desires Vena to demand a boon, and he solicits to be incorporated with the deity; Vishnu tells him first to celebrate an Aswamedha, after which the king shall become one with himself, and he then disappears. The conversation between Vena and Vishnu extends from the fortieth to the end of the one hundred and eighteenth chapter.

Prithu enables his father Vena to consummate the sacrifice, by which he is united to Vishnu, and this incident illustrates the efficacy of a son considered as a Tírtha. The Jangama, or moveable Tírthas, being thus disposed of, Súta proceeds, in the words of Vyása, to describe the Sthávara, the fixed or geographical Tírthas. The principal of those that are named are Pushkara, Mahákála, the Narmadá, the Charmanvati or Chambal, Arbuda or Abu, Prabhása, the confluence of the Saraswati with the ocean, Dwáravatí, and the mouths of the Indus, the Vitasthá river, the source of the Deviká, Kámákhyá in Asam, and Kurukshetra. There are many others, most of which are now unknown: one called Rámahrada, the lake of Ráma, introduces the familiar legend of Parasuráma, and his destruction of the warrior race, which is told in the usual strain, but more concisely than in some other works. The subject of Tírthas continues to the end of the hundred and twenty-seventh chapter.

In the next chapter the compiler seems to have recollected the purport of the appellation of this part of the Pádma Purána, and the Rishis ask Súta to give them a description of the earth; in reply, he repeats an account attributed to the great serpent

Sesha, and related by him to Vátsyáyana and other sages assembled at the coronation of Vásuki as king of the serpent race, in which the seven Dwípas, or insular zones, that form the earth, and the Lokáloka mountain which surrounds the whole, are described in the usual manner. In the account of Jambu-dwípa, we have the usual details concerning the several Varshas, and mountains that separate them and Mount Meru and its surrounding elevations. The details, however, are not very particular or full, and are exclusively of a mythological character.

The last chapter of this khanda, as well as that of the Srishti khanda, contains a tolerably copious index.

Swarga Khanda. The third division of the Pádma Purána consists of about 4000 stanzas in forty chapters; it carries on the dialogue between Sesha and the Rishis with which the previous portion concluded, and which Súta continues to repeat.

Vátsyáyana having asked Sesha to give him and the other Munis a description of the regions above the earth, the snake-god replies by referring to a conversation on this subject between a messenger of Vishnu and King Bharata. The mention of the latter suggests to Vátsyáyana to inquire into his history; and the first five chapters of the work are appropriated to the narrative of Sakuntalá and Dushyanta, in which the drama of Kalídása is evidently the authority that has been followed. Bharata, the son of Dushyanta, after reigning with glory, becomes a worshipper of Vishnu, in consequence of which Sunanda, a servant of the deity, is sent to convey the king, after his resigning his crown to his son, to Vaikuntha. On the way Bharata asks him to give him an account of the regions which they traverse, and Sunanda accordingly describes to him the situation and extent of the different Lokas or spheres above the earth. The same contrivance occurs in other works, and especially in the Kásí Khand of the Skanda Purána, from which possibly the idea has been borrowed.

The atmosphere, planetary regions, heaven, and the four upper worlds, Mahar, Jana, Tapas, and Satya, are noticed briefly in the usual manner, and above these is placed Vaikuntha, the heaven of Vishnu, according to this authority. Recurring to the subject, Sunanda then proceeds to describe in detail the subdivisions of these super-terrene realms, the Lokas or spheres, inhabited by various orders of beings, as the Bhútas, Pisáchas, Gandharbas, Vidyádharas, and Apsarasas, adverting also to the circumstances which people these aërial districts, or obtain for mortals a place in them after death. When describing the Apsaraloka, Sunanda relates the story of

Purúravas and Urvasí after the ordinary Pauranik fashion, with the addition that Purúravas, by worshipping the Gandharbas, obtained a residence with Urvasí in the sphere of the nymphs, and that Bharata, by transferring to him the merit of all the sacrifices he had performed in honour of Vishnu, enabled him to proceed to Vaikuntha.

We have then accounts of the Lokas of the sun, Indra, Agni, Yama, the Dikpálas, Varuna, Váyu, interspersed with stories. At the Loka of Kuvera an account of the origin of Rávana, and his expelling Kuvera from Lanká is related. The lunar sphere, or Loka of Soma, affords occasion for the usual legends of the birth of Soma and of Budha, of Daksha's cursing Soma to be afflicted with consumption, as the punishment of his neglecting all his wives except one, Rohiní, and his consequent alternations of increase and wane. In like manner the Loka of Saturn introduces the story of his birth from the wife of the sun, and that of Dhruva suggests the legend of Dhruva's adoration of Vishnu, and his elevation to the dignity of the Polar Star. After rising above this sphere, and passing by the upper Lokas, which are again briefly described, Bharata is carried by Sunanda to Vaikuntha.

Vátsyáyana then asks Sesha to tell him what princes of the solar and lunar races, who were celebrated when on earth for their religious acts, were raised to heaven. Sesha in reply repeats several narratives, which seem to be preserved in their most ancient and authentic form in the Rámáyana and Mahábhárata, and to have been thence transferred to the Puránas with various degrees of detail and modification. In this work they are narrated at length, and embellished occasionally with additions, which are evidence of a corrupt taste and of a comparatively recent date. The narratives are Sagara's exploits and sacrifice, the death of his sons by Kapila's wrath, the birth of Bhagiratha and his bringing Ganga upon earth, the origin of the demon Dhundu, here called the son of Madhu, and his destruction by Kuvalayáswa, thence termed Dhundumára; the generosity of King Sivi in offering his own flesh to rescue a pigeon from the gripe of a hawk, the birds being in fact Indra and Agni, who had assumed their shape to put the benevolence of Sivi to the test; his further trial by Brahmá; the sacrifice of Marutta; Divodása's reign at Kásí; Siva's regaining possession of that sacred city; and the birth and piety of Mándhátri.

At an Aswamedha performed by Mándhátri, the king is visited by Nárada, and a conversation takes place, in which the sage gives a brief description of the course of creation conformably to the Sánkhya tenets. Speaking of the origin of the four castes, Nárada

explains their respective obligations, and then proceeds to the duties of the different ásramas or periods of life. Under the last order, he expounds the nature of yoga, practical and speculative, or Karma yoga and Jnána yoga. He then details the Sadácháras, or daily observances, incumbent on all classes of men, ceremonial, purificatory, moral, and devotional. The latter are, of course, to be addressed especially to Vishnu, and to the types of him, the principal of which is the Sálagráma stone, or Ammonite, without which, it is said, worship should not be offered. This fossile is said to be the present Vishnu with his discus, and to drink of the water in which it has been immersed, is described as a sure means of obtaining emancipation during life, and being united with Vishnu after death. Great efficacy is also ascribed to sectarial marks, which are to be made after bathing, and before all religious rites, on the top of the arms, the chest, the throat, and the forehead. The merit of fasting on the ekádasí, or eleventh lunation, and the heinous crime of eating on a day sacred to Vishnu, are then pointed out, and the whole offers a sufficiently decisive indication of the character of the compilation as a purely sectarial work.

Several sections are then devoted to a description of the things that may or may not be eaten; to modes and times of dressing and anointing the person, to postures in which it is proper to sit or lie on different occasions, to the crime of slandering a venerable person, on which it is observed, that Siva is excluded from all share in oblations, on account of his disrespectful conduct towards his father-in-law, Daksha; to lucky and unlucky omens; to actions proper and improper, according to particular seasons; to the favourable characteristics of a wife, and to a variety of injunctions and prohibitions.

Mándhátri's asking Nárada if he had ever known any person who had lived a hundred years, a singular question by the way for a monarch to put, who, according to Pauranik tradition, lived at a period when a reign of many thousand years was no rarity, Nárada tells him a tale of Brahmaketu, son of Viswaketu, king of Drávira, who was doomed to die in his sixteenth year, but who, by advice of Angiras, went to Benares, and lay down in the path of Yama, when on a visit to Siva. Yama, who never deviates from a straight path and even an equal step, and could, therefore, neither walk round Brahmaketu, nor stride over him, at last, to induce him to rise, promised to allow him to live a century, which accordingly happened. There is an underplot of Brahmaketu's marrying the daughter of the king of Kámpilla, in lieu of the hunchbacked son of the

king of Kekaya, which has some resemblance to a story in the Arabian nights.

Mándhátri next asks Nárada to explain to him what he meant by Sivas's ill-behaviour to his father-in-law, on which Nárada relates the story of Daksha's sacrifice, much in the usual strain, but concisely, and making no mention of Vishnu amongst the guests. Daksha also is permitted to complete the rite, the head of a goat being substituted for his own, which he had lost in the affray.

In reply to other questions put by Mándhátri, Nárada describes the actions by which an individual is sentenced to heaven or hell; the Brahmans who are entitled to gifts and to respect, the necessity of regal government, the consequences of a good or evil administration, the duties of kings, the succession and duration of the four Yugas, and the temporary dissolution of the world. Nárada then takes leave of the king, and goes to the heaven of Indra. A somewhat abrupt introduction of the Muni Saubhari and his marriage with the daughters of Mándhátri then occurs, after which, the king completes his sacrifice and goes to heaven, with which the series of narratives terminates. The last chapter is an index of the contents of the Bhúmi Khanda.

The Pátála Khanda of the Pádma Purána, contains 102 chapters and about 9000 stanzas. It commences with a continuation of the dialogue between Vátsyáyana and Sésha, in which the snake-god describes the different regions of Pátála.

The first, Atala, is subject to Mahámáya. Vitala the second, to a form of Siva, called Hátakeswara, the third Sutala to Bali, who, on one occasion, made Rávana prisoner, which legend is related. Máya reigns over Talátala, the fourth division, he having been raised to that dignity after the destruction of his three cities by Siva, an account of which exploit is detailed. In Mahátala, the fifth region, reside the great serpents; and in Rasátala, the sixth, the Daityas and Dánavas. The chief Nágas, or snake-gods, under their monarch Vásuki, occupy the lowermost of the subterranean kingdoms, that which is especially called Pátála.

In the account of Rávana's captivity by Bali, mention was made of his future death by Vishnu, in the form of Ráma, a prince of the solar dynasty, and Vátsyáyana referring to this, asks Sesha to give him an account of some of the most celebrated monarchs of this family, and of the descent of Vishnu as Ráma. Sesha accordingly commences with the origin of the Manu Vaivaswata from Aditya, the son of Kasyapa, the son of Marichi, the son of Brahmá, previous to whose Manwantara, the Manu was preserved by Vishnu, in the

Matsya, or fish Avatára, in a ship during the deluge; the account is in substance the same with that which is given in the Matsya and other Puránas. Sesha then continues with the descendants of Ikshwáku, the order and names of whom conform most nearly with the same in the Bhágavata, although few details are given. Amongst them we have the story of Harischandra's sacrifice and elevation to heaven, and Saudása's transformation to a cannibal. The genealogy is then continued to the immediate predecessors of Ráma, and the greater part of the remainder of the work is then devoted to the history of that monarch, and the actions of himself and of the princes of his house.

The story of Dilípa and his service of the cow Nandiní, the birth and reign of Raghu, the marriage of Aja, and death of his wife Indumatí, and the birth of Dasaratha, are told exactly in the same manner as in the Raghu Vansa, and although in a less poetical style, yet frequently in the same words. In the account of Dasaratha we have a legend of his assailing Sani, or Saturn, who had caused a dearth, the king's car falling from heaven at the angry glances of the planet, was upstayed by the bird Jatáyu, and Dasaratha was thus enabled to accomplish his object, and partly compel and partly propitiate Sani to withdraw his obstruction to the fall of rain. These stories of Ráma's ancestors extend from the fifth to the end of the twelfth chapter, and from thence to the end of the 27th, we have in the accounts of the birth of Dasaratha's sons, the actions of Ráma, his exile, his conquest of Lanká, and his return with Sítá to Ayodhyá, nothing more than an epitome of the Rámáyana.

The compiler of the Purána appears, however, to have had again recourse to the Raghu Vansa, for the events that occurred after Ráma's return to his capital, the dismissal of Sítá to the hermitage of Válmíki, the death of the demon Lavana by Satrughna, and foundation of Mathurá, the birth of Ráma's sons, Kusa and Lava, Sítá's being swallowed up by the earth, and Ráma's ascending to heaven with his followers and subjects.

Vátsyáyana unwearied of a tale of which Ráma is the hero, solicits further particulars from Sesha, and the snake-god details Ráma's return to Ayodhyá more fully, and dilates upon his meeting with his brother Bharata, and the widows of his father. He then describes the visit of Agastya to Ayodhyá, when the sage relates some of the circumstances of the history of Rávana, in which the Uttara Kánda of the Rámáyana has been followed, with the addition that Rávana being a Brahman by birth, Ráma incurred, in putting him to death, a guilt which can only be expiated by an Aswamedha.

Accordingly the rite is described, and the horse intended for the sacrifice let loose, attended by a body of troops under the command of Satrughna. The adventures of the steed and his attendants form the subject of a number of chapters, from the thirty-fifth to the ninetieth.

One of the first places of note to which the horse comes, is Ahichchhatra, a city, which, according to the Mahábhárata, lies north of the Ganges, and which here seems to be in Asam, for adjoining to it is the temple of Kámákhyá, a form of Durgá, which has been long especially worshipped in that part of India. The temple it is said was constructed by Sumada, the king of Ahichchhatra, at the time of Satrughna's arrival, in consequence of the goddess having restored him to his dominions, from which he had been driven by his foes. From hence Satrughna marches to the banks of the Payoshní, a river which, according to the Pauranik lists, rises from the Vindhya mountains, and is rather incongruously, therefore, placed in succession to Asam. It is noticed, however, for the purpose of introducing the legend of the Muni Chyavana, which is narrated more fully here than in any other Purána. The next place described is the Níla mountain and Purushottama Kshetra, or Jagannath, which involves a legend of Ratnagríva, king of Kánchí (Conjeveram), who, going in pilgrimage to the mouth of the Ganges, makes a very extraordinary detour by the Gandakí river, all geography being here sacrificed to a determination to eulogize the Sálagráma, which sacred stone is commonly obtained in the Gandak. Satrughna ascends the Nila mountain, and worships Purushottama. He next proceeds to Chakránka the capital of Subáhu, where the horse is detained by Damana, the son of Subáhu, and a fierce conflict ensues, which ends in the triumph of Satrughna, and the recovery of the steed. We have then an account of Satyavat, king of Tejaspura, who was born to his father in reward of his cherishing a cow, the great importance of which is illustrated by a legend of Janaka, who, notwithstanding his being the father-in-law of Ráma, was condemned to hell for having struck a cow. His virtues, however, were such, as not only to make his going there a mere matter of form, but to enable him to redeem all the damned whom he beheld in Tartarus.

The horse is then stolen by the Asura Vidyunmálin, but the theft is detected and the demon slain. He then leads his guards to the hermitage of Aranyaka, who questions Satrughna and his companions concerning Ráma, and in consequence repairs to Ayodhyá, where he is incorporated with the demigod. The steed next falls

into the Narmadá, but is followed by the warriors to the caverns of the river-goddesses, and they restore the horse: he then becomes the subject of a still more formidable encounter, being carried off by Rukmángada, the son of Víramani, king of Devapura. The heroes of Satrughna's host are, in the first instance, victorious, and the king and his son are left for dead, when Siva, of whom Víramani was a worshipper, comes with Vírabhadra to the aid of his votaries. Pushkala, Satrughna's chief captain, is beheaded by Vírabhadra, and Satrughna struck down senseless by Siva, but Hanumán, after arresting Siva's progress, brings the drug that reanimates the dead and restores his friends to life; the battle is renewed, but Siva continuing to have the best of it, Ráma himself is obliged to appear. Siva then retreats after offering worship to Ráma, and Víramani, who has been also revived, relinquishes the horse and his kingdom.

Several other stories of this kind occur. At last, the horse comes to Válmíki's hermitage, where he is detained by Lava, the son of Ráma, yet a youth. The mention of his name leads to a repetition of the story of Sítá's being separated from Ráma, with the addition of its cause, her having, when a girl, caught two parrots, and having let the male go, but kept the female; the latter, after pronouncing an imprecation on Sítá that she should be separated from her husband, died of grief, but repeating the name of Ráma to the last, went to heaven; the male threw himself into the Ganges, and was born again as a washerman in Ayodhyá, in which character he became the main agent in Sítá's exile, for discovering that his wife had spent some time in another man's house, he reviled, and beat her, and when his mother-in-law endeavoured to prevail upon him to forgive her daughter, he replied, "Not I. I am not the king. I am not Ráma, who took back Sítá after she had lost her character in the dwelling of the Rákshas." These words being reported to Ráma by his spies, induced the king to send his wife away, and she was taken accordingly to the hermitage of Válmíki, where she bore two sons, Kusa and Lava. This part of the work agrees in some respects with the Uttara Ráma Charitra, but has several gossiping and legendary additions. Kusa, coming to Lava's aid, they defeat all Satrughna's warriors, including Sugríva and Hanumán, but by their mother's injunctions, they release the horse, who is then conveyed to Ayodhyá, where Sumati, the counsellor of Satrughna, reports to Ráma all that has happened to the party. The account of Kusa and Lava excites Ráma's curiosity, and he sends for Válmíki to inform him who they are. This leads to his discovery of his sons and his reunion with Sítá. The Aswamedha takes place, but at the

instant when Ráma is about to slay the victim, he becomes a celestial person, being a Brahman, condemned by Durvásas, for hypocrisy, to wear the shape of a horse until released and sanctified by Ráma he goes to heaven. These details succeed an account of the reign of Kusa, and a summary list of his successors, until the solar line ends with Sumitra in the ninety-seventh chapter. Here also closes the dialogue between Sesha and Vátsyáyana, the latter thanking the former for his narrations, and taking leave of him to wander over the earth.

The Rishis then ask Súta to inform them what is the sum and substance of the Puránas. He is not allowed to answer in his own person, but repeats a dialogue between Siva and Párvatí on the subject, which at first is a repetition of a discourse between the sage Gautama and the sovereign Ambarísha, in which the former details to the latter, at his request, the names of the eighteen Puránas, and the number of verses contained in each. There is one important peculiarity in this list; not only is the Bhágavata placed last, but it is said, "Vyása first promulgated the Pádma, then sixteen others, and finally the Bhágavata, as the extracted substance of all the rest, which he taught in twelve Skandhas or books, to his son Suka." The merits of the Bhágavata as the text-book of the Vaishnava faith, are then eulogized, and the particulars alluded to, leave no doubt of the work intended, or of the priority of the Bhágavata to the Pátála Khanda of the Pádma Purána.

The conversation between Sadásiva and Parvatí, is continued through all the remaining chapters, except the last. In reply to the inquiries of the latter, the former relates to her a description of Vrindávana and some of the sports of Krishna amongst the gopis, or milk maids of Gokula, in illustration of the character of the tenth book of the Bhágavata, which is dedicated to the life of that demigod. We have, however, anecdotes not found in that work, relating to Rádhá, the favourite mistress of Krishna, to the origin of the Gopis, and to the temporary transformation of Nárada and Arjuna to females. The distinguishing duties and characteristics of Vaishnavas, or followers of Vishnu, and the efficacy of the Sálagráma stone, of sectarial marks on the person, of chaplets and rosaries, of the Tulasi, or sacred Basil, and of worshipping Vishnu on certain days in each month, are then detailed at some length, and this Khanda, like the other, concludes with a tolerably copious chapter of contents.

Uttara Khanda. The last section of the Pádma Purána. This portion is more considerable than either of the preceding, consisting of about 12,000 stanzas, distributed amongst 174 chapters.

Manuscripts of this portion of the Pádma Purána present a variety in their arrangement; some commencing with the legend of Jalandhara, as in the case of the copy of which I possess the index, and in that from which Col. Vans Kennedy has translated that story: whilst the copy consulted on the present occasion begins with Dilípa's going a-hunting and concludes with the narrative of Jalandhara. This order is confirmed by the Anukrama, or chapter of contents, with which the work concludes.

According to this copy, the Uttara Khanda commences, rather abruptly, it must be admitted, with Súta's stating that after king Dilípa had been crowned, he went forth from his capital to the chase. In the wood he met Vriddha Hárita, a sage, who commended his having bathed in a pool in the forest, as ablution in the month of Mágha is peculiarly efficacious; he referred Dilípa for further information on this point to the Muni Vasishtha, and the king accordingly re-repaired to that sage for instruction. Vasishtha's communications to Dilipa on the subject of various observances which are to be held sacred by the worshippers of Vishnu, and the virtue of which is illustrated by a number of legends, mostly of sectarial and comparatively recent origin, constitute the substance of this extensive but uninteresting compilation.

Vasishtha first relates to Dilípa an account of Bhrigu's residing in the Himálaya mountains, and enjoining a Vidyádhara, who has a tiger's head, to bathe in the month of Mágha, by which he gets quit of the deformity; he then repeats a story told by Dattatreya to Sahasrárjuna, of Rishíká, a Brahman female, who, in consequence of bathing in the month of Mágha, dwelt four thousand ages in Vaikuntha, and was then born as the Apsaras Tilottamá, for the purpose of causing the mutual destruction of Sunda and Upasunda, an incident taken from the Mahábhárata. Other legends to the same purport are then narrated, of which it will be sufficient to notice the following:—Srikundala and Vikundala were the sons of a Vaisya, who dissipated their property in profligate pleasures: after death, the former was sentenced to the Raurava hell, the latter to Swarga, much to his own surprise, as he had led the same abandoned life as his elder brother. He had, however, once bathed in the Jumna, in the month of Mágha, and hence proceeded his different destiny. Kánchanamáliní became an Apsaras by bathing in the month of Mágha at Prayága, and by giving the merit of three days' ablutions to a Rákshas, she liberated him from that state, and enabled him to ascend to Swarga. Five Apsarasas endeavouring to compel the son of a Muni to return their affection, were cursed by him to

become Pisáchís, they reiterated the imprecation, and the youth was also changed to a Pisácha. They were all redeemed from their metamorphosis by bathing at Prayága, in the month of Mágha, by the advice of Lomasa Rishi. Chitrasena, king of Drávira, was a pious and benevolent monarch, but unluckily, he listened to the persuasion of Saiva ascetics, here termed Páshandas, or heretics, who maintained that no deity but Siva should be worshipped, and Vishnu in particular should be shunned, and the Rájá and his people were not only converted from the adoration of Vishnu to that of Siva, but demolished the temple of the former, and threw his images into the sea. Chitrasena, on his death, was punished by a sojourn in Tartarus, and by being then born as a Pisácha. Devadyuti, a Brahman, who had gained the especial favour of Vishnu, met with the Pisácha, and recommended him both by precept and illustration, to bathe at Prayága, in the month of Mágha, which he did, and was cleansed from his iniquities and transported to Swarga.

Vasishtha next teaches Dilípa the greatest of all the Mantras, that which was imparted to Brahmá by Vishnu, by the former to Nárada, and by Nárada to the Rishis. This consists merely of the two names, Lakshmi and Narayana, in the formula 'Om Lakshminárâyanáya Namah,' but it is declared to be the mystery of mysteries, and certain means of salvation. It may be communicated to all classes, to Súdras and others, and to women, if they have faith in Vishnu. It must, however, be preceded by the ceremony of Díkshá or initiation, the essential part of which is the Tapta Mudrá, or stamping on the skin of the novice, at the part where the arms are set on to the chest, marks, with a heated iron, representing the conch and discus of Vishnu, a practice which is considered by the most respectable authorities to be a highly-reprehensible innovation.

In answer to Dilipa's inquiry in what manner Bhakti, or faith in Vishnu is best expressed, Vasishtha repeats, in the beginning of the twenty-sixth chapter, a conversation that occurred on Kailása, between Siva and Párvatí, on the same topic, in which the former describes to the latter the sixteen modes in which devotion to Vishnu is to be expressed. These are: 1, being branded with the conch and discus; 2, wearing the Urddha pundra, the perpendicular streak or streaks of white clay and red chalk on the forehead; 3, receiving the initiating Mantra with those streaks; 4, ceremonial worship; 5, silent prayer, or counting a rosary of Tulasí seeds; 6, meditation, in which the figure and symbols of Vishnu are brought to the mental vision; 7, recollecting the names of Vishnu; 8, repeating them; 9, hearing them repeated; 10, hymning Vishnu;

11, adoring his feet, or prostration before his images; 12, drinking water that has washed the feet of his images; 13, eating the remains of food offered to Vishnu; 14, unbounded service of devout Vaishnavas; 15, fasting on the twelfth lunation, and keeping it sacred; 16, wearing necklaces and chaplets of the wood or seeds of the Tulasí. In the course of Siva's explanation of these characteristic proofs of faith in Vishnu, he relates a number of tales illustrative of their efficacy, and expatiates on the sanctity of various objects and places venerated by the Vaishnava sect.

In describing the frontal marks, Siva mentions several places whence the earth should be taken, and the list is remarkable for containing the names of places in the south of India, as Venkatagiri and Srirangam. The prayer to be used is called the Eight-syllable Mantra, or 'Om Náráyanáya namah,' and he who communicates it is the Achárya, no matter what his caste. The meaning of the prayer, and particularly of the term Om, is here explained in a characteristically mystical strain, and Vishnu is next described as the source and substance of all things. An account is then given of his residence, Vaikuntha, and of his pastimes, or delusions, which are, in fact, all created beings. Vishnu, at the prayer of Mahámáyá, or Prakriti, combining with her as Purusha, or soul, and engendering creation. He then sports with Mahánidrá, or sleeps on the waters, when a lotus springs from his navel, from which Brahmá makes his appearance, and the world is created; a detailed description ensues of the fourfold Vyúha, or disposition of Vishnu's residences, Vaikuntha, Vaishnava loka, or a mythical Dwáraká, the white island, or Swetadwipa, and a palace in the sea of milk.

Siva next relates to Párvatí an account of the Vaibhavas or manifestations, Avatáras, or descents of Vishnu; of the first or Mátsya, it is said that Vishnu, in the form of a fish, entered the ocean and destroyed Hiranyáksha, who had assumed the shape of the Makara, differing therefore from the usual account of the descent of Vishnu as a fish. In the descent of the Tortoise, an account is given of the churning of the ocean, the chief peculiarity in which is the birth of Jyeshthá Deví, the elder goddess, or Alakshmí, misfortune. The production of her more amiable sister, Lakshmí, prosperity, occurred on the twelfth lunation, and thence Siva, at Párvatí's request, explains the sanctity of this and of the eleventh lunation, and the practices proper to be observed on those days. The goddess then inquires who are heretics, and the reply designates especially the followers of Siva. Párvatí asks naturally enough how this should be, as they imitate her husband; and Siva's explanation

is, that he adopted the use of the skull, skin, bones, and ashes, by desire of Vishnu, to beguile Namuchi and other Daityas, who had obtained the mastery over the gods, but lost it by the heresy into which they were seduced by teachers inspired by Siva, as Kanáda, Gautama, Saktri, Upamanyu, Jaimini, Kapila, Durvasas, Mrikandu, Vrihaspati, and Jamadagni, authors of works in which the quality of darkness predominates. Works of this character are then specified, and are the treatises on the Pásupáta worship, or worship of Siva, as Pasupati: Bauddha works: the Vaiseshika, Vedánta, and Mimánsá philosophies: the Bráhma and other Puránas, and the legal institutes of Gautama, Vrihaspati, Samudra, Yama, Sankha, and Usanas.

The Varáha and Nrisinha Avatárs, are then related, and in the latter we have the story of Prahláda, much in the same style as in the Vishnu. The Vámana, or dwarf Avatára is next described at some length, and we have then the Avatára of Parasuráma in some detail. The story of Ráma next occurs, and forms a complete epitome of the Rámáyana, and the birth, actions, and death of Krishna, agreeably to the text of the Bhágavat, are last narrated. The Avatáras of Vishnu constitute a considerable portion of the work, extending from the thirty-sixth to the seventy-second chapter.

The construction of the images of Vishnu is next described, and the places are mentioned, where the principal are erected, as Srirangam; Kasi; Jagannatha, where the image is of wood; Badarikásrama, Gangaságar, Dwáraka, Venkatádri, Vrindávan, &c. Bathing is enjoined in the Ganges, Yamuna, Saryu, and Gandakí, in upper India, and in the Kaveri, Támraparní, Godávarí, Krishná, and Narmadá, in the Dakhin; worship is to be offered daily to Lakshmi and Náráyana, and the mode of so doing is fully detailed. Párvatí then declares her intention of adoring Vishnu, for which Sadásíva commends her, and repeats to her the hundred and eight names of Ráma. The two deities then devote themselves to the adoration of Vishnu, and the dialogue concludes with the seventy-fifth chapter.

The conversation is then resumed between Dilípa and Vasishtha, and the king asks the sage how it happened that Siva attained a form so unattractive and unlike a god. In reply the Muni tells him that at a great sacrifice made by Swáyambhuva Manu, the assembled Rishis discussed which of the deities was entitled to the homage of a Brahman; some said Rudra, some Brahmá, some Súrya or the sun, and some Vishnu; but they all agreed that the only being whom they ought to revere was he who was made up of the quality of goodness;

and they employed Bhrigu to visit the deities, and put their characters to the test. Bhrigu accordingly went to Siva, but could not obtain access to him, as he was engaged with his wife; finding him, therefore, to consist of the property of darkness, Bhrigu sentenced him to the form of the Linga, and pronounced that he should have no offerings presented to him, nor receive the worship of the pious and respectable. His next visit was to Brahmá, whom he beheld surrounded by sages, and so much inflated with his own importance as to treat Bhrigu with great inattention, betraying his being made up of the quality of foulness. The Muni therefore excluded him from the worship of the Brahmans. Repairing next to Vishnu, he found the deity asleep, and, indignant at his seeming sloth, Bhrigu stamped upon his breast with his left foot and awoke him. Instead of being offended, Vishnu gently pressed the Brahman's foot, and expressed himself honoured and made happy by its contact; and Bhrigu, highly pleased by his humility, and satisfied of his being impersonated goodness, proclaimed Vishnu as the only deity to be worshipped by men or gods, in which decision the Munis, upon Bhrigu's report, concurred. This subject extends to the seventy-sixth chapter, and in some copies forms the concluding section. It is not the last of my copy, however, for Vasishtha having briefly recapitulated the subjects on which he has indoctrinated Dilípa, asks him what more he desires to hear, on which Dilípa expresses a wish to be made acquainted with the Máhátmya of the Bhagavad Gíta. Vasishtha replies by repeating another dialogue between Siva and Párvatí, in which Siva reports a conversation between Vishnu and Lakshmí, the former of whom describes to the latter the holiness of the composition of Vyása, called the Bhagavad Gíta, and exemplifies its sanctity by legends of individuals who were purified from sin, or released from future existence, by hearing or reading one or other of the sections of the Gíta, beginning with the first, and proceeding regularly in succession to the last. There is nothing worthy of note in these stories; they are all purely sectarial, according to Vaishnava notions. The scene of many is laid in the south of India, at Pratishthána, on the Godávarí; at other places on that river, at Sri Sailam, at Mahishmatí, on the Narmadá, at Haripur on the Tungabhadrá river, at Saurashtra (city, or Surat,) in the country of Gurjara, and at other cities, said to be in the Dakhin, but which are perhaps fabulous, as Amarddaka and Meghankusa; Kolapur may perhaps admit of verification. The subject extends to the ninety-third chapter.

Sadásiva then repeats to Párvatí the thousand names of Vishnu, as recited by Nárada to Bhrigu and other sages; and the reply

made by the same holy person to a number of questions put by the Rishis, the general purport of which is the transcendent merit of one who constantly recites the names of Vishnu, wears the sectarial marks, and addresses to Vishnu all his thoughts, words, and deeds. This part includes the Kriya Yoga Sára Máhátmya, or the efficacy of studying a subsequent portion of the Pádma Purána, and therefore eulogized here rather out of its place. The whole is nothing more than a reiteration of what has been repeatedly said before, though it proceeds to the end of the one hundred and first chapter.

The subject is still further prosecuted, and the merit of worshipping Vishnu, the certain expiation of all sin thereby, and the faults by which its efficacy is impaired, are communicated to Nárada by Sanatkumára, as he had been taught them by Siva. We have then two chapters on the unlawfulness of taking away life, consisting chiefly of an account given by Durgá of herself to Siva, in which she ascribes her sanguinary exploits, as the death of various Asuras, to the Máyá, or illusion of Vishnu, by which those who worship him are not to be beguiled. Siva then explains to Nárada what Bhakti or faith in Vishnu means, and what practices are incompatible with it; the various modes of worshipping Vishnu; the manner of meditating upon him, or inaudibly repeating his names; the rules of personal purification; the reverence to be shown to a Guru, or spiritual guide; the hundred and eight names of Krishna, which should be repeated every morning; the mystical marks on the soles of Krishna's feet, which should also be called to mind; the duty of morning ablution, and merit of washing with water in which a Sálagráma has been immersed. These subjects continue to the end of the one hundred and thirteenth chapter.

Dilípa then inquires of Vasishtha what are the most efficacious means of obtaining final emancipation; to which the Muni replies by relating the Máhátmya of the month Kártikeya, as it was imparted to Nárada by Brahmá. In this month, whatever gifts are made, whatever observances are practised, if they be in honour of Vishnu, are sure of attaining the end desired, and realizing an imperishable reward. Amongst the especially sacred acts of this month is the gift of lighted lamps. No particular day is enjoined in the section that treats of the Dípa dána Máhátmya, but the eleventh of the moon's wane is alluded to as especially appropriate, and the merit is great even if the lamps be lighted for the purpose of gambling at night in any place dedicated to Vishnu. The fourteenth and fifteenth lunations are also noted as holy days; but the general instruction is, "let a man offer lamps day and night in the month of Kártik."

Some legends are narrated in illustration of this general precept, as well as of the efficacy of certain days of the month; thus, the thirteenth dark lunation is specified as the day on which Yama is to be worshipped with offerings of lamps. Bathing is enjoined early in the morning of the fourteenth and fifteenth lunations, and flowers and water are to be then also presented to Yama; lamps are to be offered at night to the deities generally. On the morning of the first light lunation or new moon, bathing is to be performed; libations are to be made to gods, men, and progenitors; the monthly obsequies are to be celebrated; Brahmans entertained; a number of lamps lighted at night in houses, gardens, cow-sheds, meetings of public roads, and holy places; and families are to keep awake through the night, and pass it in diversion, especially in games of chance. As these directions were given by Vasishtha to a certain female, they suggest to Nárada to inquire by what means women become beautiful, fortunate, fruitful, and faithful. Brahmá tells him a story, in reply, of a lady called Subhará, who was all these, in consequence of duly observing the Sukha ratri, the happy night which Vishnu passes with Lakshmi, and which occurs on the fifteenth of the dark half of Kartik. The ceremonies on this occasion, consisting chiefly of the worship of Mahálakshmí, and including illuminations, are to be conducted especially by women. On the first of the moon's increase, Bali the Daitya is to be worshipped in commemoration of his gifts to Vishnu, as the dwarf, which took place on that day. Krishna is also to be worshipped as Gopála the cow-herd. On the second lunation, which is thence called Yama dwitíya, Yama is to be adored by those who wish to know not death; and on the eleventh the waking of Vishnu from his periodical slumbers is to be celebrated.

The account of these sacred days in the month of Kartik extends to the one hundred and twenty-sixth chapter.

The Kártika Mahátmya, however, is still considered to be the appropriate title of this portion of the Purána, although most of the chapters treat of topics not exclusively relating to that month. They describe the objects of Vaishnava ceremonies and observances, which are equally sacred at other seasons, as the Dhátrí flower, the Sálagram stone, the various kinds of Sálagrámas, the conch shell, the Tulasí plant, various perfumes, as sandal, agallochum, and different fragrant flowers, all which are peculiarly dedicated to Vishnu, and are to be worshipped or offered in worship on occasions and in modes which are particularized. A description is then given of the Bhíshma panchaka, or five days from the beginning of the eleventh

to the end of the fifteenth lunation of the month of Kartik, dedicated to the worship of Bhíshma; and this properly closes the subject of the holiness of Kártik, or the Kártika Mahátmya, with the one hundred and thirty-second chapter.

In reply, however, to a question of the Rishis, Súta relates to them the communication of the legend of Kártika by Nárada, to the wives of Krishna at Dwáraká, and a conversation that ensued between Krishna and Satyabhámá, in which the divinity gives his wife an account of her former existence as the daughter of a Brahman, and her having been exalted to her present dignity in consequence of observing the ceremonies proper to the eleventh lunation of the month of Kartik. Satyabhámá asks how this month obtained its peculiar sanctity; in reply to which, Krishna relates to her the story of the Asura Sankha having stolen the Vedas, and Vishnu's becoming a fish, in order to plunge into the sea and recover them. In this version of the Mátsya Avatára, we have the sage Kasyapa substituted for Satyavrata, and he throws the fish, when it is too large for the pond, into the sea: we have nothing further of a boat or a deluge—the fish kills Sankha, and brings the Vedas back to the gods. This happened in the month of Kartika, and on the eleventh day, whence bathing in that month and on that day is commemorative of this Avatára. Bathing at Prayága and Badarikásrama are peculiarly enjoined; and then Nárada, who has been the narrator of the previous story, which Krishna has only repeated, describes to Prithu the mode of observing the ceremonies, or the fasting, bathing, giving presents, waking, and worshipping, which should be practised in this month. These topics proceed to the one hundred and fortieth chapter. Prithu then asks Nárada to explain to him how the Tulasí plant became sacred to Vishnu. Nárada, in illustration, tells him a long legend of the birth, exploits, and death of Jalandhara, a person of whom no mention occurs in any other Purána, but whose story has been translated into English by Col. Vans Kennedy. The translation frequently varies from the text of the copy I have consulted, but the variations are not material to the narrative, and it is sufficient to refer to the translation for the details of the story—a story which, whether as it occurs in this place, or in the beginning of the work, appears extremely incongruous with its general tenour, and little, if at all, connected with what precedes or follows it: it occupies nine chapters: at the close it appears that Vishnu was fascinated with the beauty of Vrindá, the wife of Jalandhara; to redeem him from which enthralment the gods applied to Lakshmi, Gauri, and Swadhá; each gave them seeds to sow where Vishnu was enchanted. Those given by

Lakshmi came up as the Dhátri, Málatí, and Tulasí plants, and appearing in female forms they attracted Vishnu's admiration, and diverted his affections from Vrindá; hence the estimation in which they are to be held by all devout Vaishnavas. Nárada then relates to Prithu a series of stories still in illustration of the merit of acts of devotion in the month Kartik, in which again we have indications of the locality of the origin of this composition in the choice of sacred places in the Dakhin for the scenes of the wondrous events narrated; as the Sahya mountain; Sauráshtra; the confluence of the Krishná and Vení rivers; Kánchí; the capital of a prince called Chola, king of Chola, the brother of Anantasayana. The account winds up with a legend of the origin of the Krishná, Vení, and Kakudmini rivers, which were formed of portions of Vishnu, Siva, and Brahmá, whilst the numerous streams of the Sahya mountain proceeded from portions of their several goddesses.

Krishna and Satyabhámá appear again in the one hundred and fifty-seventh chapter, as interlocutors, and the former expatiates to the latter on the three vratas or observances which he most prizes—those of the months Kártik and Mágha, and of the Ekádasí or eleventh lunation, throughout the year. He then explains to her the manner in which the character of an individual is affected by that of those with whom he associates, and the possibility of interchanging vices and virtues, or of transferring to others the consequences of one's own acts, a doctrine frequently advanced and illustrated in this work. He exemplifies the theory by the narrative of Dhaneswara, a Brahman of low occupation, who goes to Máhíshmati, in the month Kartik, to sell skins, and his business leading daily to the banks of the Narmadá, he is thrown into the company of numerous Vaishnavas—hears them constantly recite the name of Vishnu—sees them bathing and offering worship—and joins them, more out of curiosity than devotion, in their rites. Upon his death, and condemnation to Tartarus, it is found that the punishments of hell have no effect upon him, and upon inquiry into the cause, Yama learns his accidental observance of the month of Kártik: he is accordingly dismissed from the lower regions, and becomes one of the inferior divinities called Yakshas. Krishna and Satyabhámá then go to perform the evening Sandhyá, and Súta and the Rishis resume their dialogue in chapter one hundred and sixty.

Súta now explains how the Kártika-vrata is to be observed by sick persons, or those who dwell in mountains and forests, which is illustrated by a legend of the metamorphosis of portions of Vishnu, Siva, and Brahma, to trees, or severally to the Aswattha (Ficus religiosa),

Vata (F. Indica), and Palása (Butea frondosa), by the curse of Párvatí. Another legend of Daridrá, or Poverty, left by Uddálaka, a Muni, to whom she had been espoused under an Aswattha tree, explains why that tree is to be touched only on a Sunday, for on every other day Poverty or Misfortune abides in it: on Sunday it is the residence of Lakshmi. This concludes the Kártika Máhátmya with chapter one hundred and sixty-one.

The next subject is the history of Rádhá, the favourite mistress of Krishna, who is said to be Mahálakshmí, born as the daughter of the Rája Vrishabhánu and Srikírttidá; she was born on the eighth of the moon's increase in the month Bhádra, and the work therefore describes the Bhádráshtamí vrata, or the ceremonies to be observed on Rádhá's birth-day, with the prayers and worship to be addressed to her and to Krishna, including the catalogue of her hundred and eight appellations: similar injunctions are then given for the observance of Krishna's birth-day on the eighth day of the dark half of the same month, and the three circumstances by which it is modified, as the simple Ashtamí, Rohiní, and Jayantí, or the concurrence of the asterism Rohiní with the eighth lunation and the moon's entering the constellation at midnight, are described. The holiness of the forest of Vrindávan, the favourite haunt of Krishna and Rádhá, is the next topic, and we have then the one hundred and eight names of Annapúrná, a form of Lakshmí. Súta then communicates to the Rishis the sanctity of another month of bathing, fasting, and worshipping Vishnu, proper to be observed in Vaisákha, illustrating it by Vaishnava tales, showing how various persons were purified from their sins by the efficacy of acts performed in Vaisakh. The Vaisákha Mahátmya ends with the one hundred and seventy-second chapter. The next chapter contains the Anukrama or index, and the one hundred and seventy-fourth or last chapter consists of a panegyric upon the Uttara Khanda of the Pádma Purána.

The Kriyá Yoga Sára is always considered as a sort of supplement to the Pádma Purána, or as a portion of the Uttara Khanda of that Purána. It is divided into twenty-five chapters, and contains about 4000 stanzas. It commences with Súta's visit to Naimisháranya, where Saunaka, on behalf of the Rishis, asks him to inform them how, in an age so degenerate as the Kalí, religious merit may be attained, mankind being now incapable of those arduous acts of devotion which were commonly practised in more auspicious ages. Súta replies by reciting a dialogue between Vyása and Jaimini, in which Vyása, to satisfy the similar inquiries of his disciple, repeated to him the Kriyá Yoga Sára Purána, or

Purána explanatory of practical devotion in opposition to the Dhyána Yogá, or devotion of contemplation.

Practical devotion is, according to this authority, the adoration of Vishnu. It was exercised before the creation, by Brahmá, upon Vishnu's destroying the demons Madhu and Kartabha, and the notice of this circumstance is accompanied by a brief description of the origin of the world, and the birth and destruction of the two demons.

The first act of devotion enjoined, is bathing in the Ganges, or celebrating the virtues of the sacred stream, especially at three places—Haridwára, Prayága, and Gungaságara. The holiness of the river is chiefly explained by insipid and extravagant legends, of Swarga, Vaikuntha, and even final liberation, being the reward of different persons, several of whom were most abandoned sinners, who were sprinkled, on their deaths, with Ganges water—who were drowned in the river—or whose bones were cast into it. These stories extend from the third to the end of the eighth section.

A series of precepts and illustrations occupies the next five chapters on the worship of Vishnu in each month of the year, describing how it is to be performed, and what recompense rewards it. The next chapters explain the merits of the simple repetition of the words Hari, Ráma, Krishna, and other names of Vishnu; the efficacy of Bhakti, or faith in Vishnu; the holiness of Purushottama Kshetra, and Jagannatha; the virtue of liberality, and excellence of various kinds of gifts, with the reward that awaits donations to Vaishnavas and to Vishnu; the reverence due to Brahmans; the sanctity of the Ekádasi, or eleventh lunation. In the story of Kotiratha and his queen Suprajná, who faithfully observed the Ekádasi, a description of hell, and the punishments inflicted on the damned, is given. The virtues of the Tulasí and Dhátrí plants, and merit of planting, and cherishing them, and wearing rosaries and necklaces made of their wood, are the theme of the twenty-third chapter. The next chapter details the duties of hospitality, and the work closes with an account of the decline of virtue in the different ages, and the depravity of mankind in the Kalí Yuga. That period has, however, its advantages, for the recompense of years of devotion in the preceding ages is realized by a single repetition of the name of Hari.

There can be little doubt that the two last portions of the Pádma Purána have not much in common, beyond their sectarial tendency, with those by which they are preceded, and it may be questioned if there is any very close connexion even between the four first Khandas,

and whether they can be regarded as constituting one continuous work: at any rate it is clear, that neither individually nor collectively do they correspond with the description of a Purána, or embody a representation that can be regarded as ancient or authentic of Hindu tradition and mythology. They are all evidently the compositions of a particular sect, and for a particular purpose—authorities compiled by the Vaishnavas for the promulgation of the worship of Vishnu.

The Srishti Khanda, or first portion of the work, is the most free from a sectarial character, and conforms best to that of a Purána. The earlier and later chapters, indeed, treating of the creation, regal genealogies, and legends which appear to be ancient, mostly employ language used in several of the Puránas, the original property in which it is difficult to assign to any one of them, and perhaps of right belongs to none, having been borrowed from some common source. In the case of the Pádma Purána, however, it is strongly to be suspected that the compiler had before him especially the Vuyá, Vishnu, and Bhágavata Puránas.

A very considerable portion of the Srishti Khanda is, however, as far as can be ascertained, original, although it be not Pauranik, for it constitutes the Paushkara Máhátmyam, or the golden legend of the lake of Pushkara or Pokhar in Ajmer, where alone Brahmá is worshipped; and it is a peculiarity of this part of the work, that its sectarianism is the worship of Brahmá rather than of Vishnu. There are some curious legends, as has been observed, of apparent struggles for supremacy between the followers of Brahmá and Siva, in which, though the latter triumphs, yet it is at the expense of some humiliation.

The advocacy of the adoration of Brahmá, growing out of the legendary sanctity of a place dedicated to that divinity, is a probable clue to the history of the composition, and gives reason to suppose that this part of the Pádma Purána owes its origin to the temples at Pokhar, legends intended to enhance the merit of acts of devotion at that shrine having been blended not very congruously with others taken from different sources, and embellished according to the taste of the compilers: when this is likely to have been accomplished is a matter of some uncertainty. Pokhar is still a place of pilgrimage, and a shrine of Brahmá, but it was probably not much resorted to during the Mohammedan supremacy in the vicinity of Ajmer, and the worship of Brahmá has not been popular for some centuries at least. On the other hand, if narratives, legends, and genealogies have been borrowed literally from other Puránas, including the

Vishnu, as appears probable, we cannot go very far back for its composition.

There are also various descriptions and allusions, from which a comparatively modern origin may be inferred. Ráma is said to have recognised Siva as the guardian of the bridge between Lanká and the peninsula, giving him the name of Rámeswara, and the temple at that place, which still exists, must therefore have been built when the legend was written. Amongst the wives or favourites of Vishnu, Rádhá is named, and her deification there is reason to believe modern. The Brahmans who live to the south of the Vindhya mountains are declared unfit to be invited to a Sráddha, or obsequial feast, an exclusion implying a difference of faith or practice, which is not to be traced in older authorities, and which was probably levelled especially at the Saiva and Vaishnava sects of the peninsula. The followers of Siva, who are characterized by carrying a skull, are possibly not of high antiquity; and the specification of the Jain heterodoxy, with the description of a class of their priests carrying a bunch of peacocks' feathers, are indications of no remote date. We have also frequent mention of Mlechchas, or barbarians, and Sávitrí pronounces, in the seventeenth chapter, an imprecation upon Lakshmí, the goddess of propriety, that she shall take up her abode with them—this looks like an allusion to the presence and predominant authority of the Mohammedans when the passage was written, .and there seems reason to believe that this portion of the Purána was compiled at some period between the establishment of the Mohammedan kingdom of Delhi in the thirteenth and the fifteenth or sixteenth century.

The Bhúmi Khanda bears even less of the character of a Purána than the preceding, containing very few of those details which belong to the ancient mythological system, and being still more extensively made up of sectarial legends. Its sectarianism is Vaishnava, and is more decided than that of the Srishtí Khanda. It is less controversial and exclusive, however, and Siva is more civilly treated, and admitted to share with Vishnu the adoration of mankind.

Brahmá is scarcely noticed at all, and then only to be identified with Vishnu.

The character of the stories which constitute the greater portion of this work, and the additions made to those narratives which are borrowed from older compositions, sufficiently evidence the absence of antiquity. We have also repeated the specification of Jain doctrines, and may therefore infer that these enjoyed some degree

of popularity at the time when they were thus assailed. The locality of the Bhúmi Khand is different from that of the Srishti, and instead of Pushkara, the places to which the greatest sanctity is attributed, are situated along the Narmadá, and in central and western India. Amongst these, Mahákála is specified, which may possibly be the shrine of Siva, at Ujayin, that was demolished by Sultan Altmish, in 1231. A shrine of Durgá, under the name of Kámákhya, which lies in Asam, is also mentioned, and it may be doubted if that or several of the other Tirthas specified, were in possession of celebrity at any remote era. The date of the Bhúmi Khand then probably differs little from that of the preceding portion: it does not seem, however, to be necessarily connected with it, but to have been the work of different hands in a different part of India, and under circumstances somewhat dissimilar. It may be doubted also if it is the Bhúmi Khanda alluded to in the first chapter of the Srishti, for although it does contain a description of the earth and of sundry Tírthas, yet, as will have been seen by the abstract of its contents, thcy occupy but a small part of that of which, according to the specification referred to, they ought to have constituted the substance.

The opening of the Swarga Khanda with the precise story of the drama of Sakuntalá, shows that it is posterior to the play. The travels of Bharata appear also to be borrowed from other and probably still later originals, and their boundary, Vaikuntha, the heaven of Vishnu, placed above all the other Lokas, is a later and sectarial addition to the genuine Pauranic system. The narratives that follow do belong to the old legendary stock, but the long conversation between Mándhâtri and Nárada, which forms the connecting thread of the latter half of the Swarga Khanda, is an original embellishment. The Vaishnava observances, the worship of the Sálagráma stone, the use of frontal marks, the holiness of the eleventh lunation, are not only sectarial but as far as has yet been ascertained, are modern, having been adopted by some of the Vaishnava sects, which sprung up after the appearance of Rámánuja in the middle of the twelfth century. We have no reason therefore to assign to this part of the Pádma Purána, a higher antiquity than to the former, and it seems to be connected with the Bhúmi Khanda in order and in subject. It corresponds also well enough with the brief description given of it in the first chapter of the Srishti Khanda.

The Pátála Khanda is little else than a history of Ráma, and of his house, the details of which are, to a great extent, taken from the

Raghu Vansa, and as already observed, in the very same words. The Purána is therefore more modern than the poem. The plan of the adventures of the horse turned loose for Ráma's Aswamedha, which constitute a large portion of the Pátála Khanda appears to be original, as are most of the stories, although some of them are only embellished versions of legends to be met with elsewhere. Some of the places noticed, afford a limit to the antiquity of the work. Kámákhya, as has been stated, is probably no very ancient shrine, and certainly, Jagannáth has no pretensions to high antiquity. We have also the Sálagráma, the sectarial marks, and the Tulasi plant, made the subjects of repeated panegyric, and the use of these is characteristic of modern Vaishnava sects. The Bhágavata Purána is also named and distinctly particularized, and the Pátála Khanda of the Pádma is therefore more modern than the Bhágavata. Except the ancestors of Ráma, there are no genealogies in this Khanda, and its congruity with the description in the Srishthi Khanda, is therefore rather questionable.

The Khandas of the Pádma Purána, thus far, are Vaishnava works. The first Khanda, it is true, almost drops that character in the importance attached to Pushkara and the worship of Brahmá, but the three next are obviously written to assert the supremacy of Vishnu. There is a tolerable conformity amongst the three in the tone in which this is enforced, and they also agree in the choice of Ráma rather than of Krishna, for the form of Vishnu that is selected as the subject of their panegyric. It seems likely, therefore, that they are nearly cotemporary productions, and that they originated with the followers of Rámánuja, or Madhwáchárya, Vaishnava teachers, in the South of India, in the twelfth century.

The moderation that pervades the injunctions of the preceding portions, is no longer observed by the Uttara Khanda, and the worship of any divinity, except Vishnu, and of Siva especially, is positively prohibited. It possesses equally little of the character of a Purána, and is a violent sectarial work made up for the most part of legends, invented to inculcate the exclusive worship of Vishnu, the use of distinguishing Vaishnava marks, and the sanctity of particular seasons when Vishnu should especially be propitiated. The latter subjects in the legends, or Máhátmyas of the months Mágha and Kártik, constitute the bulk of the compilation.

The main purport and evident locality of this section, sufficiently illustrate the probable period of its composition within certain limits, and show that it was written when a struggle took place between the Saivas and Vaishnavas of the Peninsula, for superiority.

One legend, indeed, relates to a king of Drávira, who, listening to the doctrines of heretics (Saivas), destroyed the temples of Vishnu, and threw his images into the sea. The time at which these contests took place, appears to have been about the eleventh and twelfth centuries (*Mackenzie Collection,* Introduction, lxii.)

Amongst the practices especially enjoined is the Tapta Mudra, stamping the names of Vishnu on the skin with a hot iron, a practice not warranted by ancient texts, and introduced into the Dakhin apparently some eight or nine centuries ago. (*As. Res.* xvi.12.)

The principal places at which worship is addressed to Vishnu, include Srirangam and Venkatádri, or Tripeti. The traditions of the latter acknowledge that it was a Saiva shrine in the time of Rámánuja, who recovered it for the Vaishnavas, and, consequently, the Uttara Khanda is posterior to that event and to the twelfth century.

The scenes of many of the legends illustrating the merit of worshipping Vishnu, are laid in the South, and amongst them we have Haripur on the Tungabhadrá. In the translated index, this is called Hariharapur, and whichever reading be correct, it appears probable, from its situation on the Tumbhadra, that the capital of Vijayanagara is intended, the city of Bukka and Harihara Rayas, which was founded in the beginning of the fourteenth century.

These, as well as the general character of the work and its dwelling upon the sanctity of the Sálagráma stone, Tulasi plant, and other particulars, afford proof sufficiently credible, that it is not entitled to be considered as the composition of a remote period. The fifteenth century will not, in all probability, be very far from the highest antiquity to which it can lay claim.

The Kriyá Yogá Sára seems to have been suggested by the chapters of the Uttara Khanda, which treat of practical devotion according to Vaishnava tenets. In that case, it is posterior to it, and there is nothing in it inconsistent with a more modern date. Its tone is more moderate, however, and from its dilating more especially upon the holiness of the Ganges, and of Jagannátha Kshetra, and not alluding to other holy places, it differs in the locality of its origin from the other Khandas, and is most probably the work of a Brahman of Orissa, or Bengal. The work does not appear to be known in the South of India.

Art. XX.—*A Description of a Persian Painting, presented by the Right Honourable Lord Western to the Royal Asiatic Society.* By General Briggs.

The architecture of the building in which the figures are represented, points it out as the interior of a hamam or warm bath. The apartment is the first room, which is kept at a moderate temperature, and has usually, as is here exhibited, a fountain of cold water playing in the centre. The figures are females, and from their dress are at once recognised to be Christians, who are not suffered in Mohammedan countries to wear the *bŭrka,* or entire veil of the ladies of Islam; but are merely permitted, when walking the streets, to conceal the lower part of the face by a white muslin cloth.

On the right of the picture is seen a female in the act of quitting the bath waiting for her servant, who is following her. One of the attendants of the bath, with a cloth on her arm, is seen paying the collector, who is seated on a stool at the door. She receives the money with one hand, and keeps open the mouth of a linen bag in which it is to be deposited with the other. Immediately behind is a group consisting of a lady who has just reached the bath, urging on her little girl to follow the servant, who is carrying the bathing-cloths over her shoulder, and has both hands filled, one with a basket, and the other holding a small saucer containing a comb and soap. The female lying on her back appears to be sleeping after the exhaustion of the steam-bath, and her servant sitting with her back turned seems preparing some mixture of the toilette. Further on, upon the same carpet, are seated two ladies with sheets thrown over them, as having returned from the bathing-room, while their servant, who has a bundle of clothes at her feet, stands waiting till they feel disposed to dress. Behind these ladies is a servant quitting the dressing-apartment with her mistress's toilette apparatus. Immediately behind her is standing a female adjusting her bathing-robe, and the little girl sitting naked on the platform seems to be calling to some one to put her down on the floor to follow. Behind the pillar is seen a female going into the steaming-room, and the painter has thrown a red glaring light on her face and skin, indicating the reflection of a lamp which usually lights the passage connecting the bathing-room with the dressing-rooms.

In the centre group is seen a female seated on a carpet, suckling her infant; and at the other end of the same carpet another is repos-

ing after her bath, and undergoing the process of manipulation or champooing, by a female with her back turned. This habit is generally practised in thc East, and affords a delightful sensation when the body is in a state of relaxation.

In the back-ground is perceived one female on the right, apparently applying a dentifrice of dye from a bottle to her teeth. The next to her is pencilling her eyebrows; and a third, in full dress, holding with each hand the ends of the scarf worn over the back part of her head and shoulders, is preparing to go out. A fourth has a saucer of rose-water sherbet in her hand, while the servant behind holds the bottle from which it has been poured. The female next her is in the act of dressing, seated on the carpet; and another, standing near the pillar, together with one sitting behind her, are also engaged in dressing. This includes the whole grouping.

The interior of the bathing-room is not seen: it is in reality a steam-bath, where the temperature usually exceeds that of 100° Fahrenheit; and the water which is poured over the bathers while they sit or lie on the marble floor to be rubbed and manipulated, varies from 110° to 120°, according to the wish of the bather.

Art. XXI.—*Remarks on the Arabic Language, by* T. M. Dickinson.

In taking a critical review of a language, it is essentially necessary, as in all other similar cases, to divest the mind of all preconceived notions and prejudices which have been imbibed from habit or education, and to view it solely with regard to its object and use; viz., a clear and distinct representation of ideas.

Now all the points to which it will be necessary to turn our attention in this inquiry, as being the essential requisites for perfection in a language, may be comprised under two heads—first, precision; second, copiousness.

By precision is meant that capability which a language possesses of expressing ideas, by means of words and sentences, in so distinct and well-defined a manner, as to excite exactly and only those ideas in the mind of another person, which they are intended to represent.

Now there are two things necessary to precision in a language; first, the precision of the words of which it is composed: and second, the precision of its grammatical structure.

The precision of words consists in their representing an idea in so particular a manner, as to excite, in the mind of another, exactly and only that idea which they are intended to convey.

It might hence be argued abstractedly, that if more ideas than one are represented under one word, doubt might arise as to which of these ideas the word was intended to represent. But if we examine the nature of our ideas, and consider the association by which they are linked together, and the dependence which they have on each other, we shall see the almost impossibility of mistaking the nature of any one particular idea in a syllogism, even though represented by a word which is also used to represent several other ideas, from its connexion with what precedes and follows; as, for example, in English, in the sentence, "Snipes have long bills;" the word "bills" could not excite in any mind the idea of "an account," (though it also signifies "account,") from its connexion with the idea of a "snipe." The only probability of a mistake arising would be in a case where the various ideas might be applicable to and associated with the same object. As, for instance, suppose the word "bill" signified, besides "beak," a "tail," or "feather," or any other part of a snipe, a mistake might then occur as to the meaning. But it appears that the Arabs, as well as the English and all other nations, sensible of such an inconvenience, have taken especial care,

when they allowed one word to represent more ideas than one, that they should be of so totally and essentially different natures, as to prevent the possibility of a mistake, as may be practically ascertained by a perusal of any Arabic work, where the difficulty and obscurity of the language, (for it certainly does appear in many cases difficult and obscure,) will be found to proceed not from the plurality of ideas contained in one word, but from other causes, which will be elsewhere alluded to. We will therefore proceed to the second point; viz., the precision of grammatical structure.

This consists in the capability which a language possesses of expressing propositions and syllogisms in so clear and well-defined a manner as to convey exactly and only the meaning intended, by representing exactly the relation which subsists between the different ideas of which the proposition or syllogism is composed.

Now this must be considered—first, with regard to construction; secondly, with regard to time.

By construction is meant a modification of words, by means of inflection, particles, &c., in order to convey a distinct idea of the relation which exists between the ideas of which the words are representatives. And I think that no person, who is competent to form an opinion of the Arabic language, who is aware of the great trouble which the Arabs have taken, and who has read the voluminous dissertations which they have written on their grammar, on which they do especially pride themselves—who views the structure, uniform and conformable in all its parts with the rules of reason and logic, and according in so beautiful a manner with the nature of things—who considers the extreme degree of nicety with which all inflections are regulated, and with which the limits of the signification and government of the different particles are defined, can maintain an opinion that the construction of the Arabic language, in the sense in which I have taken the term, is rude and imperfect, or can assert that, owing to a want of precision or refinement, the proper relation between the different ideas in an Arabic sentence is in any danger of being ambiguous or obscure. We will therefore proceed to consider the subject with regard to time.

By precision of grammatical structure with regard to time, I mean the capability of expressing, by means of modifications of the verb, and by particles, &c., the exact or relative time of an action. A verb is a word which implies an action and a time of action. Now it is evident that there cannot exist in any language a sufficient number of modifications of a verb to express the exact time of an action unless it is actually passing. There are, therefore, but three

distinct periods to which an action can be referred—past, present, and future. But as an action may be conceived with a past, present, or future reference to another action, which may be either past or future, a further modification of the verb is necessary to express the connexion which the one should have in point of time with the other. This may be more clearly shown by means of examples, as in the following instances.

First. To a past action may be referred—

1. A past action—as, "I had dined when you came."
2. A present action—as, "I was dining when you came."
3. A future action—as, "I was about to dine when you came."

Secondly. To a present action nothing can be referred, except it be also present—as, "I read while you play;" "I am reading while you are playing."

Thirdly. To a future action may be referred—

1. A past action—as, "I shall have dined when you come."
2. A present action—as, "I shall be dining when you come."
3. A future action—as, "I shall dine when you come."

These are all the distinct modifications of time of which we are capable of forming an idea, and which can properly be called distinct tenses.

But the generality of people, both ancients and moderns, have incorporated in the body of their verb a variety of modifications, either simple, as in Greek, or compound, as in most modern languages, not only of the above tenses, but which also imply other distinct ideas, besides the attributes of a verb; viz., time and action; such as ideas of ability or permission, wishing, condition, &c., which they embody under the name of moods, as the potential, optative, subjunctive, &c. moods, all or some of which they apply to the above tenses, making thereby a great and complicated variety of modifications, which habit and prejudice make us consider as essentially necessary to perfection in a verb.

But as the idea contained in each of these moods is most clearly compounded of two or more distinct ideas, it seems more natural and proper to express it by means of words which represent the separate ideas of which it is composed, than by an unmeaning inflection. As long, however, as a language is capable of expressing, by modifications of its verb, all the relations which we have shown can be conceived of the actual or relative periods of action, it cannot be said to be wanting in precision with regard to time.

Now the Arabic is capable of expressing all these modifications of time in a most easy and unequivocal manner; its verb is most

simple, having only two different tenses; viz., first, the past, and secondly, the present or future, the same form expressing both, the context being considered sufficient to discriminate which is intended, as will always be found to be the case. The compound tenses are formed by means of simple words, expressive of the component simple ideas; and the various significations expressed by the complicated and difficult system of moods, in most languages by means of a great variety of unmeaning inflections, are in this peculiar language represented by certain words and particles, which have in themselves, in a particular and well-defined manner, the ideas which the moods are intended to convey.

Having therefore shown that the Arabic language is not wanting in precision, we will proceed to examine it on the point of copiousness, by which term I mean the capability it possesses of expressing those various and refined ideas with which we become acquainted by the effects of civilization, and by the powers of the human mind; that is to say, all the variety of sensible and intellectual ideas.

Now with regard to the first of these points, it is clear that no people would invent terms for objects of which they had formed no idea; and consequently that no language could possess words to represent those peculiar objects which use and habit have made familiar with other particular people, and for which they have in consequence certain special words. All, therefore, that it is in the power of language to do, is to convey to the mind, by a clear definition, a correct representation of something with which it was not previously acquainted, and thereby furnish it with a new idea. Now the peculiar applicability of the Arabic, for simple and correct definitions, must be observed by any one who will examine a page of the *Kamoos*, or any other Arabic lexicon, which arises out of that logical exact precision of structure, but which is neglected in the more loose construction of the modern languages. If afterwards the new object becomes familiar, and in general use and acceptation, no language can be better adapted for giving it an appropriate name, by means of some modification of that radical word to which the new idea may be related in signification; or, if there be no such word in use, the foreign word itself may be adopted, and admitted into the body of the language in a class of words, which the Arabs call "barbarous or foreign," alluding to their being borrowed from other languages, and not amenable to those rules by which their own is so peculiarly regulated. Now the argument on the limited powers of the Arabic to express intellectual ideas, is founded on the

limited number of its roots, or radical and original words, and necessarily supposes two things; first, that the number of ideas is limited to the number of roots, and that the derivatives convey merely modifications of the original idea: secondly, that the richness and copiousness of a language depends upon the number and variety of its radical words. Now a very slight knowledge of Arabic is sufficient to show that there are many words regularly formed from other radical words, with which they have no connexion in meaning, and consequently that it is not absolutely necessary that all derivatives should be restricted in meaning to some modification of the idea of the radical word. These, however, are not so general as to interfere with the otherwise regular structure of the language; but the fact is merely adduced to show, that the limited number of radical words does not preclude other distinct ideas from being expressed by certain regular modifications of a radical word, with which they have no perceptible connexion in signification.

But with regard to the second of the above suppositions, it is generally allowed that none of our ideas are innate, but that they are impressions made upon the mind by the action of external objects; which external objects, or the sensible ideas excited by them, are therefore the foundation of all our ideas, simple or compound, sensible or intellectual. All our intellectual ideas therefore originate in certain external objects, the creation of some super-human agency, and which it is natural and reasonable to suppose, from the uniformity of the rules of nature, vary but little in the various parts of the world, whence it may be assumed that the primary ideas, and, consequently, primary words of all languages must have been confined to nearly the same limits. If, however, the account of the confusion of tongues be accepted in its literal sense, it must be acknowledged that the primary ideas of all nations were originally the same, as was the case with their language, and that they must have attained a considerable degree of refinement and perfection during the sixteen centuries, in which the world "was of one language and of one speech." The confusion of tongues was, therefore, a divine impulse, affecting not the perception, but the expression of ideas.

Now it is natural and reasonable to suppose, for no other supposition is natural or reasonable, that language was a divine inspiration bestowed upon man, to enable him to express those ideas which his mind was formed to perceive; and also, from the uniformity and perfection which pervades nature, it is reasonable to

suppose, that in the original languages, there existed a connexion somewhat similar to that which exists between the ideas, of which language was the representative. But in the modern languages of Europe, and indeed, though in a less degree, in the ancient languages, little connexion is found to subsist between words, nearly allied in meaning. In them we find an infinite variety of words, which, as we perceive no other words to which they are allied, we conclude are simple representations of simple ideas, whereas, in many instances, reflection and a research into the more original languages, bring to light the sources from which both the word and idea are derived. But in the Arabic, which (as far as research can reach) is an original and unchanged language, there is preserved between the words a relation corresponding with that which exists in the mind, between the ideas, instead of a vague variety of words, expressive of ideas which have no intimate connexion in the mind, and are deducible from a common source. The Arabic words have as perceptible a relation to each other, as exists between the ideas of which they are the representatives, and are derivable from a common root, which is the representative of the original idea. A paucity, therefore, of radical and simple words is no argument against the richness and copiousness of the Arabic, but must rather be considered, when viewed in connexion with its structure, so peculiar and logical in all respects, as a proof that there has been preserved in the sandy and inhospitable and unconquered Peninsula of Arabia, a language not far removed from that state of perfection, in which it was imparted to man by his Creator.

A singular objection has been raised against the Arabic, assuming "that it must be a most barren language, from containing a number of synonymous words, all expressive of the same idea, which, it is said, is an incontrovertible proof, that the Arabs, having become sensible of the monotony arising from the paucity of their ideas being always expressed in the same terms, could devise no other means of producing variety than by the invention of a new word." As, however, the example of all languages shows us that words, whenever invented, have always been required for the representation of an idea, which before has no adequate symbol, and as it is contrary to experience, to suppose that any people ever coined even one word exactly synonymous with another word with which they were already acquainted, it behoves us when we see a language possessing, in many instances, a plurality of words, (amounting in some cases to hundreds,) apparently synonymous, to seek for other causes, for

such a peculiarity more conformable to experience than the one above quoted.

The earliest accounts of Arabia describe it as a wild and desert region, occupied by a number of wandering tribes or families, the descendants of Ishmael, the son of Abraham, Esau, the son of Jacob, and the sons of Keturah, the wife of Abraham; who, finding the soil incapable, from its dryness, of maintaining large communities, were prevented from associating in large numbers, and founding towns and cities, like the earlier settlers in the fertile provinces, on the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates, but wandering forth as they came to manhood, with their flocks and families, pitched their rude tents wherever they found all that was requisite for their wants, a well or spring, which would afford water, and produce pasture for their flocks, in which consisted their wealth and support. There they settled and remained till the growing numbers of themselves and their flocks became too great for the scanty supply of water to which they trusted for their subsistence, when the more active and adventurous part of the tribe wandered forth with their flocks and families in quest of another settlement. The consequence was, that in the course of years, a large extent of country was peopled by a race of men descended from a common stock, and, therefore, speaking a common language, but separated from each other by the inhospitable sands of the desert, and unconnected by any of those links by which arts and commerce have connected the most distant portions of the world. At first, the lives of these early settlers, and the scenes around them, were unvaried and monotonous, and they were too much engaged in cares for their subsistence and preservation, to devote much of their time or thoughts, to reflect upon what they saw and felt; but as they became more settled and tranquil, and experience made them acquainted with new objects, or taught them to reflect upon those with which they were already familiar, they found themselves in want of words to express their new ideas; and here a striking feature of this extraordinary language forces itself upon our attention. It is natural and reasonable to assume that the Arabs were, at the early period of which we are speaking, poor in their ideas, and unacquainted with many objects of nature; for we have no reason to suppose that they were, and have every reason which experience of people in a similar state can furnish, to suppose that they were not acquainted with letters; without which, it is impossible to preserve among a people for any length of time, an idea of an object, which has never been presented

to their senses. Several words, therefore, which their forefathers used as representatives of objects with which they were familiar, would, from the absence of similar objects in the places where their descendants settled, become obsolete and unknown, and the idea was lost to their minds till restored in the course of time, by experience or reflection; when the word also being lost, they were obliged to coin a new one: but whenever the idea, whether sensible or intellectual, was compound, or resolvable into any other simple ideas, it was expressed by some modification of its most essential simple idea, and it will be found upon inquiry, that few, if any of those simple ideas, which, from the nature of things, must have been early and constantly perceived by man, are represented in Arabic by more terms than one, and that the compound ideas are represented by modifications of that term; and moreover, that those ideas, of which there are so many synonymous representations, are generally, if not always sensible, and of such a nature that they could not long continue perceptible to the infant colonies of a wandering illiterate people, without the presence of their objects, with which objects they might, conformably with the nature of things, be unacquainted long enough to forget and lose both the idea and word. The consequence was, that, when in the course of time, they again became acquainted with the object, and required a word to represent the new idea, if they could not refer it to any idea of which they were in possession, they coined, as chance directed, a new word, and hence the number of synonymes, which are found in the modern Arabic, in which the various peculiar terms and idioms of the different tribes of Arabia, have, by the writings of the host of authors which they have all contributed to furnish during the last thirteen centuries, been united and embodied in one language.

In prosecuting this inquiry, there are two points which particularly attract the attention, and excite the admiration. The first is the wonderful power and intrinsic richness of a language which, though used for centuries, merely to represent the ideas of a race of pastoral barbarians, was capable, when called upon to explain to its people, and I may almost say to the world, the subtle reasoning of Aristotle, the sublime philosophy of Plato, the abstruse calculations of Euclid, and the delicate prescriptions of Galen and Hippocrates; and which, though strained as it was by the immense influx of new ideas, which the writings of these sages and philosophers must have excited, was capable of furnishing words for them all out of its own inexhaustible mines.

The second point is the wonderful structure of this language,

which has preserved it from corruption or decay, cast as it was, for a period of above twenty centuries, among a people who had neither colleges to establish, or large communities to preserve their language; it has retained that peculiarly delicate structure, uninjured by the hand of barbarism and neglect, and unimpaired by time, which has so particularly exercised the ingenuity of the Arabic grammarians and excited the admiration of the world.

As a written language, the precision of the Arabic is equally peculiar; without entering into a dissertation on the philosophical structure of its alphabet, it will be sufficient to observe, that each letter has a certain especial sound, which nothing can change or affect, and is either preceded or followed by a certain vowel-point, which also has an unchangeable sound, by the aid of which it is pronounced. But as the rules of grammar, in all cases, regulate the accent of the final letters, and custom has established that of all the others, the Arabs have not thought it necessary, on ordinary occasions, to make use of these diacritical points, and have, consequently, omitted them in all cases where the omission would not be attended with ambiguity and obscurity, except in treatises on religion, law, metaphysics, &c., in which there might be an inducement for ingenuity to exert itself in perverting the obvious meaning of the text by a different, but not inadmissible mode of punctuation, with regard to mistaking an active for a passive verb, or one person for another. It is almost needless to say, that the context, and a reference to the agent and thing acted upon, will always preclude the possibility, not only of a mistake, but even of a doubt or hesitation. Another peculiarity of the Arabic, is its remarkable applicability to harmonious composition. This may be ascribed to three causes.

First,—The precision with which the length of the accent of each syllable is defined.

Secondly,—The number of synonymes, from which selection may be made of the word most conducive to the harmony of the passage, without at all affecting the meaning.

Thirdly,—The circumstance of all derivatives, in which consists the bulk of the language, being formed on the same models; but it is needless to support this argument by theory, when a reference to the first page of the Alf Leila, or any other work, even in prose, will establish the point beyond the reach of controversy.

But there yet remains unnoticed what may appear at first view a serious obstacle, inherent in the nature of the Arabic language, which must prevent it from ever attaining a high degree of copious-

ness or richness, and must doom it, in the opinion of a superficial observer, to be for ever a barren and unimprovable dialect. I allude to the absence of compounded words, a circumstance essentially necessary and unavoidable in the construction of the language, and which must, consequently, ever prevent the Arabs from availing themselves of this mode of expressing new and complicated ideas. Accustomed as we are to view the beautiful flexibility of the Greek and of the other languages of Europe, to which it has communicated so much of its own copious richness, it is natural that we should suppose that no other means than those which we have always before our eyes, the indispensable use and necessity of which we experience whenever art or science presents us with a new idea, could enable a language to expand with the advancement of sciencc, and to furnish new words for every new idea. But philosophy must not form her opinion so hastily; she must view the subject through the cool medium of reason, and weigh it in the severe scale of experience. She is aware that all the modern languages of Europe follow the example of the Greeks, of expressing a variety of ideas by compounding several words together, and she sees what difficulty they would labour under, were it not for the rule universally acknowledged, which allows the coinage and adoption of any words, "Si Græco fonte cadant parce detorta." But these new terms are not understood, except by those who have acquired a knowledge of the sources from which they are drawn, and consequently, though distorted and arrayed in a new apparel, they are as incomprehensible to *οἱ πολλοι* as if they had never been modernized. But circumstances so intimately connecting the rise of modern Europe with the decline and fall of the Greek and Roman empires, have established and preserved all that remains of these vast fabrics, save the names. Their language, though no longer spoken, is interwoven with every dialect of Europe; necessity, and subsequently custom, a law almost as strong, have made them the pursuit of all who have the means or opportunity of studying them; so that its own fitness and their own natural convenience have induced the learned of all Europe, whether of Teutonic or Celtic nations, to diffuse their new ideas through the classical medium of Greek and Latin compounds. But had there been no such medium, and no occasion for such a medium, supposing them to have had a common language, as the Arabs have, what would they have done? They would have either compounded words of their own language, or have coined new ones, which would have been no more comprehensible to the body of the people than the present classical

terms actually are, and this we constantly see exemplified in those branches of science where the lower orders are engaged; for though they are presented with an infinite variety of new objects, which suggest a still greater variety of new ideas, they never are at a loss for terms to express them by, from their ignorance of the classical languages, but either invent or apply some word which serves every purpose intended, that of clearly and distinctly conveying their meaning.

Reason, therefore, clearly shows that compound words, however beautiful and natural they may appear to us, are not essential to the expression of new ideas, but experience and facts are still more stubborn arguments than reason itself. During the dark period, between the sixth and twelfth centuries, when superstition had cast its fetters over the minds and intellects of the whole of Europe, and ignorance had thrown its mantle over the fairest portion of the globe, the torch of learning and literature was kept alive in the Saracen halls of Bokhara and Bagdad, Damascus and Medina, Cairo and Cordova, and other cities, under the sway of the successors of Mohammed. Those enlightened Arabs saw and admired the literature, science, and philosophy of the Grecian schools, but they knew the power and beauty of their own language, nor would they suffer their youth to be opposed by the difficulties of a strange tongue in the acquirement of what they saw to be so desirable. By their order, everything which the wisdom of man had discovered, conducive to the benefit of society, or the dignity of the mind, the polished and instructive beauties of history and romance, the beneficial details of botany and medicine, the abstruse calculations of geometry, algebra, and astronomy; the deep reasoning and elaborate philosophy of the grove, the portico, the lyceum, and the academy; with stupendous works on jurisprudence, grammar, logic, and rhetoric, were translated or compiled, and diffused throughout their empire. But vast as was the influx of new matter and new ideas to these pastoral warriors, they found terms for them all in the unbounded depths of their own language, which scorned to borrow words from those sources from which the Arabs had derived so many ideas. And when, in the course of ages, the sun of the Saracen empire declined, the language retired to its native deserts unexhausted, and unfathomable as before. That it has not kept pace with the languages of Europe since that period, is owing not to its own imperfection, but to the neglect of the Arabs themselves, who have relapsed into their original desert life, as if they had never emerged from the wilderness. But it has been tried, severely tried, and has never

been found deficient. Why then should we assume that it could not stand the test of critical examination, and on this assumption proceed to condemn it as crude and imperfect? On the contrary, when I view its internal structure, I hold it to be more perfect and comprehensive than any other known language, and I find the impressions which this gives rise to, so fully confirmed by the experience of centuries, that I am disposed to think with Sir William Jones, Richardson, and others, that the Arabic is a most copious, rich, comprehensive, and wonderful language.

Art. XXII.—*Journal of a Route through the Western Parts of Makran.* By Captain N. P. Grant.

INTRODUCTION.

The following journal of a route through Makran was performed in the year 1809, by Captain Grant, a young Indian officer of great promise, who was assassinated by a rebel Persian chief in the following year. The geographical results of this tour have been published elsewhere; but the journal itself, which, together with some further information concerning the unfortunate writer, was presented to the society by his friend, Sir Henry Worsley, has not hitherto appeared. In the present conjuncture, when public attention is drawn to the countries lying between India and Persia, the details of this tour may be of some utility, and with this object a copy was taken to India by Sir James Carnac. It is a plain description of the country, evidently not intended for publication in its present form; but the untimely death of the writer prevented any correction.

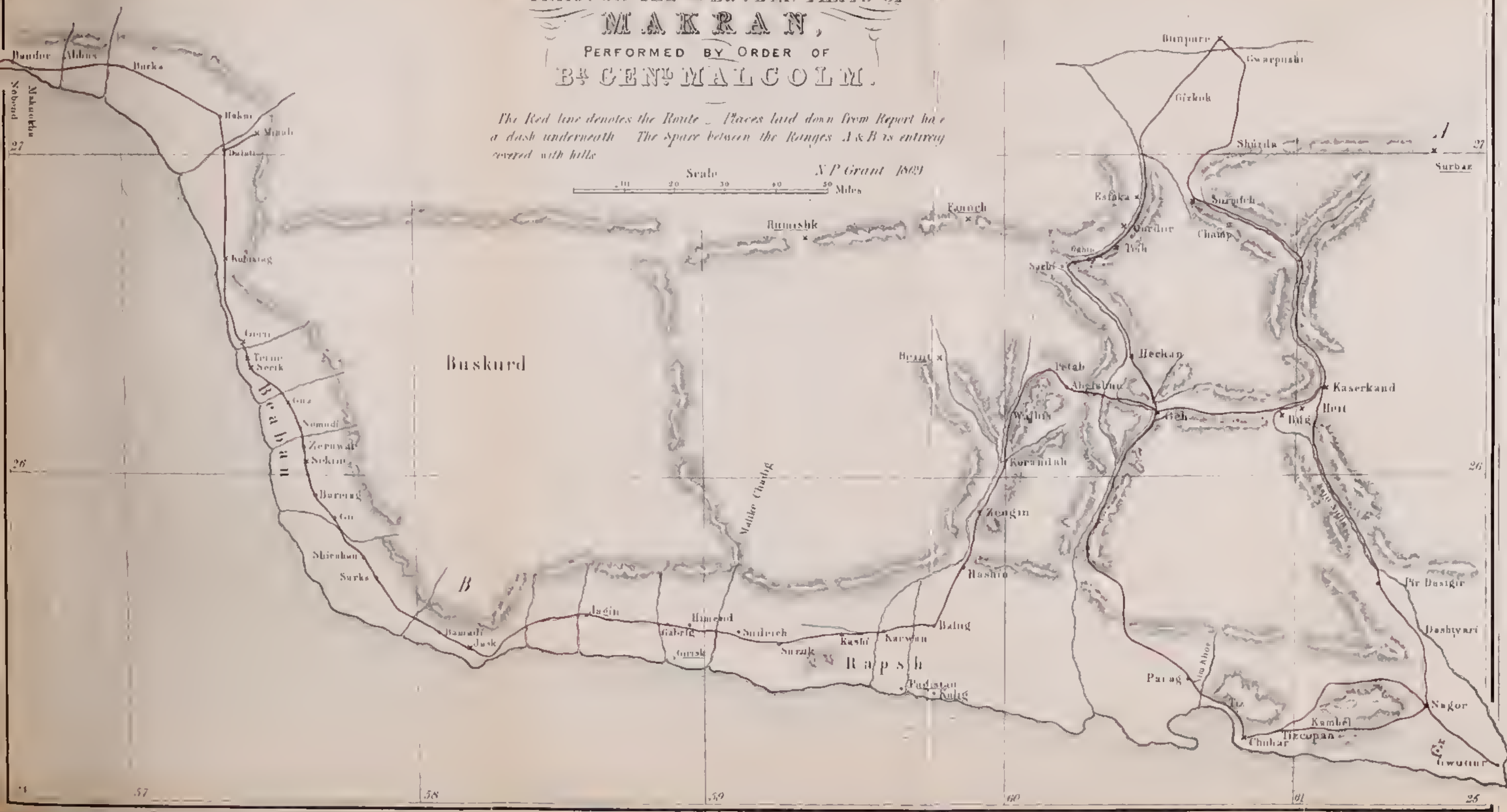
JOURNAL.

Having received instructions from Brigadier-general Malcolm, to examine the western countries of Makran, I embarked on board the Honourable Company's cruizer Ternate, and sailed on the 18th of January, 1809, from Bombay.

Jan. 29th.—Arrived at Goadur, but on inquiry, the country was found in such an unsettled state, that Captain Seton thought it advisable I should land further up the coast.

30th.—Landed at Gwuttur, a village belonging to Mír Soban; it consists of about 150 mat-huts, and a small mud fort. The inhabitants are chiefly fishermen, who exchange their surplus for grain from the interior: there is not the slightest cultivation about the place. Water is procured by digging two or three feet in the sand, but after a short time it becomes brackish. Two nullahs fall into the sea at this place; one from Champ and Dashtyarí, the other from Surbaz and Bawú; they are dry, except during the rainy season, commencing in November, and continuing three or four months.

Feb. 1st.—Marched to Nagor; the first two miles over a swamp, occasioned by the discharge of water from the nullahs; the remainder of the road over a barren plain, except within two or three miles of Nagor, where some slight signs of cultivation were observable. This


Map of a Route
Through the Western Parts of
MAKRAN,
Performed by Order of
Bg. Genl. Malcolm.
The Red line denotes the Route _ Places laid down from Report have a dash underneath. The Space between the Ranges A & B is entirely covered with hills
N. P. Grant 1809
Scale
Miles
Buskurd
Rapsh
Bunpore
Kaserkand
Chobar
Nagor
Jask
Surbaz

village consists of about 250 mat-huts, and a small mud-fort. The country to the northward of it, for about a mile, abounds in wells, and produce sdates, tobacco, and cotton; but beyond this it is a mere desert.

Nagor is the residence of Mír Soban, whose territory extends from Jewaní, on the bay of Gwuttur, to Chobar, and about forty miles inland. This country is generally termed Bawu Dashtyarí, being the names of his two largest villages. His tribe is Judgall, and is originally from near Sinde, the language of which country they still retain. The forces of this chief amount to about 300 cavalry and 3000 infantry; but the whole of these could only be collected on an actual invasion of his country: their arms are the matchlock and sword. His revenue is about 6000 rs. This tribe is of greater weight in Makran than any other, its alliance being courted by all the neighbouring chiefs.

I was furnished with letters from Capt. Seton to Mír Soban, and from their influence was received with every attention; indeed, that I was able to perform this journey at all, can only be ascribed to the high respect Capt. Seton's* name is held in throughout all Makran.

The produce of the country is wheat, joarí, and cotton, but the crops depend on the rains for water; there is generally one barren year out of three—this of 1808-9 was the unlucky one. In a plentiful season enough is produced for two or three years' consumption.

Feb. 7th.—Marched ten and a half miles towards Chobar, to wait the arrival of letters of credit from Muscat; the road very bad, through ravines; no wells, but plenty of water lodged in hollows.

8th.—Road for ten miles as yesterday; thence to nineteen over the plain of Cambel, quite barren for want of rain; Tízcopan is a small village lying at the foot of the hill; at the twenty-second mile, ascended the hill and halted; rain-water procurable only from hollows.

9th.—The road, to three miles, over the hill, and very rugged to Chobar; six and a half miles, road good. This place consists of about 300 mat-huts, and a mud-fort built on a slight eminence on the east side of an extensive bay. The country round about is quite barren, except a few gardens; near the town good water is procured from wells sunk in the bed of a nulla twelve or fifteen feet deep. There is a continual intercourse between Chobar and Muscat; ghee and cotton are the chief exports: it is likewise the mart where the inland countries barter their produce. No great quantity of provisions could be furnished without some previous notice; but after a

* Capt. Seton, of the Bombay establishment, was resident at Muscat and Envoy to Sinde.

plentiful year, and with one month's preparation, a very large supply of grain and dates could be collected. Sheep, goats, and camels, are easily procurable. The duties of this place amount to 5000 rs.; this was formerly divided between the Seid of Muscat and some of the Makran chiefs, but the Seid has now seized the fort, and retains the whole.

11*th.*—Marched six and a-half miles to Tiz, formerly a place of some importance, but of which nothing now remains but fifty or sixty miserable huts. It lies in a valley about half a mile broad and two miles long, surrounded by steep hills, except to the south, where it is open to the sea. There are but two roads leading into the valley, the one from the west, between the sea and the hills, and the other over the hills from Chobar; they were both well fortified.

18*th.*—Received my letters of credit from Muscat, but no bills above 200 rs. were procurable on the inland towns.

21*st.*—Marched towards Nagor—the road to Tízcopan is the same as before described—thence over a plain; halted at twenty-six miles; some scattered cultivation for the five last miles; water procurable only from hollows.

22*nd.*—Road leads over a plain for six miles; to seventeen miles over hills and through ravines; to Nagor, twenty miles over a plain. This route is the longest, but best, from Chobar, but it has no water in the hot weather. After procuring letters from Mír Soban to the chiefs of the country, I pursued my journey inland. My letters purported that I had come to Nagor to purchase horses, but none being procurable of the kind I wanted, had proceeded inland in hopes of being more fortunate.

25*th.*—Marched towards Kaserkand at four miles, palms and water to six, over a plain; at twelve over steep hills; at eighteen over the plain of Dashtyarí: halted on the banks of the Kaju Nulla. This plain is about fifteen miles broad and twenty long, and in favourable seasons is remarkable for its fertility. The Kaju intersects it from north to south, but only furnishes water for irrigation during the rains. The inland inhabitants are scattered about in hamlets of eight or ten huts each. Water in plenty on the road, and procured by digging two or three feet in the nulla.

26*th.*—The road, to eleven and a half miles, over a plain; here the cultivated part of Dashtyarí ends; to fifteen, among hills; Pír Dastgír, a small village with water; at nineteen and a half entered the Kaju Nulla; halted at twenty-two, water from a cleft in the rocks. The road to-day good, till entering the nulla; through it stony and difficult.

27th.—Marched twenty-four and a half miles over hills and through the Kaju, in which we halted; water as yesterday, but none on the road.

28th.—The road, to twelve miles, through a nulla; to sixteen, through a stony valley; to nineteen, over a plain to Kaserkand; there are no villages for the last three days' journey. The road lies mostly in the bed of the Kaju, which is generally half a mile broad; the country on both sides is covered with high hills of barren rocks; these hills are thinly inhabited by Baloches, whose flocks find a scanty subsistence in the beds of the nullas.

Kaserkand lies in a fertile valley, about twenty-one and a half miles broad, having the Kaju Nulla running through it; the cultivated part is about eight miles in circumference. The town stands on the west side, and consists of about 500 huts and a large mud fort; water is plentifully supplied from twenty-five large springs on the north side of the valley. Wheat, rice, and dates, are produced in the greatest luxuriance; the wheat in Makran is reaped in the end of March or beginning of April, dates in June, and rice in September.

The chief of this place, Shaik Samandar, is independent, and besides the immediate district of Kaserkand, possesses some little territory to the north; but his whole revenue does not exceed 1000 rs. a-year; the inhabitants are about 3000 men. At Kaserkand I met Mahomed Khan, the chief of Geh; he was the only person under whose protection I could proceed further inland, but as he was going to Nagor, I was obliged to wait his return, that I might be furnished with proper persons to accompany me.

March 17th.—Mahomed Khan having returned, I accompanied him, and marched towards Geh; at four and a half miles reached Heit, a fine village with a fort, belonging to the chief of Búg; at nine miles Búg, a short distance on the left; these two places are well supplied with spring-water, and abound in palms; they lie on the banks of the Kaju; the chief is Mír Mohibbie, whose revenue is not above 500 rs. The road to eleven miles lies in the Kaju; the remainder to Geh, forty-one miles, is over hills and through ravines; Geh is situated between two nullas coming from the east, and a third, larger from the north, into which the two former fall. All these nullas abound in springs, some of them hot. The town consists of about 600 huts, and a large, high mud-fort, situated close on the banks of the large nulla; it is reckoned the second city in Makran, Keij being the first; and its dependencies are of greater extent than those of any

other state; they stretch from Chobar 100 miles along the sea-coast, and eighty miles inland. The revenue of this chief is not above 4000 rs. a-year, and he is able to collect about 3500 armed men from his own districts and those of the petty chiefs with whom he is on a good footing.

This state was formerly much subject to be plundered by the tribes on the borders of Makran and Persia, but it has for a few years enjoyed peace from these depredations.

21*st.*—Marched towards Bunpore. The road this day was fourteen miles, over hills and through ravines, to Hechan, a fine village with a fort, situated on the banks of a nulla; its lands are well cultivated and watered; the inhabitants are about 2000. The dependencies of Geh extend thus far.

At this place I met with a person who had assumed the character of a Scid, and was travelling over Makran and the adjacent countries; he understood most of the oriental languages, and some of the European. I could discover nothing from him at this time; he afterwards sent me a note, saying he was an Armenian, but I could not find out whether he was employed by any one.

22*nd.*—Marched to Sarhí, twenty-one miles; the road to-day is exceedingly steep and difficult through the Hechan Nulla; it has a stream of water flowing the whole way. This is one of the passes into Makran from the north; there are eight of these passes between Minab and Kelat i Sewir, and they are all so difficult, that the passage might be obstructed by a very small body of men. The greatest elevation of the Makran mountains is attained at this place; the streams to the south flowing towards the Indian Ocean, and those to the north towards the Gulf of Persia.

23*rd.*—At six and a half miles Oghín, a small village with water and palms; at thirteen miles Peib, a fort, and chief town of the valley of Lashar. This valley is about eight miles broad and twenty-five long, and had a number of fine villages abounding with palms, but from the tyranny of the Bunpore chief, to whom it is tributary, it is now much on the decline; it can furnish 500 good soldiers. At nineteen miles Gordor, a small village and fort; at twenty-six halted; the road for eight miles through ravines, thence through the nulla of Lashar—springs of water in most parts.

24*th.*—At two miles, Esfaca, a large village and fort; at fourteen quit the Lashar Nulla, and enter on sand-hills; at twenty-seven miles, Gízkok, a halting-place, but no village, the water brackish: numerous flocks amongst the adjacent sand-hills.

25th.—At ten miles, the Bunpore Nulla, with a stream of water twenty yards wide and three feet deep. The sands extend thus far: at thirteen miles, Bunpore.

The fort of Bunpore is situated on an extensive plain, and from the height of the mound of earth on which it is built, is visible at the distance of twenty-five miles; it is of mud, small, and crowded with buildings. The town contains only a few huts, occupied by the chief's relations and dependants. The inhabitants in general live in huts, scattered about as their flocks and cultivation call their attention. The immediate district of Bunpore is about five miles broad and thirty long, stretching from E. to W., and being well watered with springs, produces grain in such abundance as to supply most of the neighbouring countries. It has a desert of land of about twenty-five miles broad on each side of it: that on the south is bounded by the Makran range of hills, and that on the North, by a range running parallel. The present possessors of Bunpore invaded it twenty-five years ago, and dispossessing the former inhabitants, settled themselves. They are called Narroís, from their former country, Narro, about 250 miles E.N.E. of Bunpore. Their force, when collected, is about 300 cavalry, well armed and mounted, and 2500 infantry. Their chief employment is plunder, their expeditions being generally directed to the westward, extending to Minab and Bander Abbas. The inhabitants and cattle constitute the chief spoil, the former are sold as slaves to merchants from Kandahar, who bring horses in return. These expeditions have been, in some measure, checked, since the settling of one of the Persian Shah-Zadehs in Kerman, about three years ago. The Baloches of Lower Makran are not so accustomed to rapine as the tribes inhabiting the borders of Kandahar and Persia; the fear of whose ravages obliges travellers, of whom the greatest part are pilgrims from the Punjab and Cabul, to take the route of Sinde, and thence to travel through Makran.

From the bad character of the Bunpore chief, I found it impracticable to penetrate to Minab by the direct route; I therefore returned into Makran, by the pass of Champ.

April 1st.—Marched eight miles to Gwarpusht, a small village, with springs and palms; the road is crossed by the Bunpore Nulla, which loses itself in the sands, about forty miles west of Bunpore.

2nd.—The road leads over a desert for twenty-one miles to Shurda, a fountain in the hills; to twenty-six miles over sand skirting the hills; to thirty-six over hills; halted at Surmích, a small fort and village; it has a well-watered spot of about four miles in circumference, and depends on Bunpore.

3rd.—At six miles, attained the summit of the hills, where there is a very narrow pass, whence the descent, though slight, is to the south, by the Kaju Nulla, which takes its rise about this spot; at nine miles, Champ, a short distance on the right: it is the residence of an independent chief, and can raise 1000 excellent soldiers. The name of the chief is Mír Onba; the principal produce of the country is very fine dates. Halted at Tank, thirty-three miles; water was rather scarce the latter part of the road.

4th.—Marched twenty-three miles through the Kaju Nulla. The banks skirted with palms and houses the whole way. The descent this day is great but gradual.

5th.—At sixteen miles, Kaserkand. The road as yesterday, and plenty of water; at twenty-six miles, Búg. The pass from Bunpore into Makran, by Kaserkand, is longer, but much easier than that by Geh; forage for horses is scarce on this road.

6th.—Marched twelve miles towards Geh.

7th.—Marched to Geh, nineteen miles, being obliged to go to Chobar to pay for the horses I had purchased at Bunpore; I left my followers at Geh, wishing to pursue a route as far from the coast as possible.

8th.—Marched from Geh, the road leading through the Nulla; at ten miles, the Heehan Nulla joins, they fall into the sea between Buzem and Tank, thirty miles west of Chobar; at thirty-three miles, quitted the Nulla, which had water flowing most of the way, and is in many places skirted with palms; to thirty-five miles, through hills and ravines; to forty-one miles, over plains: halted at a nulla with water.

9th.—The road to twenty-one miles among hills and ravines. Here commence the plains. A nulla with water at seventeen miles; at thirty-six miles, Parag, a small village with water from wells; at forty-three, Ním Khor, a salt-water river, unfordable when the tide is in; at forty-eight miles, Tiz. Some part of the plains had been cultivated, but from want of rain the crop was scanty: on this road there are few inhabitants.

10th.—Marched to Chobar, and having transacted my business, returned in the evening to Tiz.

11th.—Marched forty-eight miles towards Geh: the road as before described.

12th.—At Geh, forty-one miles. The direct road to Minab through Buskurd being too mountainous for camels and horses, I was obliged to pursue the route of Jask.

13th.—The road through a nulla for ten miles; to thirteen miles

over hills, crossed the Hechan Nulla, halted at Petab, twenty-eight miles, a small village with palms and water. No inhabitants on the road, but plenty of water.

14*th.*—At sixteen miles, Wajbís, a small village with water; at twenty-six miles, halted at Korandab, no village, but plenty of water and forage; the road this day leads through a large nulla abounding in forage. The nulla of Beint joins here.

15*th.*—At sixteen miles, Zengín, a small village with water; at twenty-seven miles, halted at Pashín. Forage and water in plenty. The road continues in the same nulla as yesterday.

16*th.*—Road to nine miles over stony plains to the wells of Balug; at nineteen, cross the nulla with water in it; at twenty-six miles, halted at Karwau, on the banks of a branch of the same nulla. This day's march leads over the plains between the sea and mountains. The inhabitants reside in temporary huts, which are removed from place to place for the convenience of forage; the flocks of camels and sheep being very numerous.

17*th.*—At nine miles, the wells of Kashí in a nulla; at thirty-four miles, the wells of Súruk; no water on the road between these stations.

18*th.*—At eleven miles, Sudeich, a village, with palms and water; at fourteen miles, a nulla; at seventeen miles, Malike Chadig, a high mound of stones, marking the boundary of Makran; here the territory of Geh ends, and that of Jask commences; at twenty-two miles, Hímend, a small village and well; at twenty-nine miles, Gabríg and a nulla, with the wells sunk in the bed.

19*th.*—Marched to Jagín, twenty-one miles; no water on the road, but plenty from the nulla at the halting-place.

20*th.*—At ten miles, a nulla with wells, but the water brackish; at eighteen miles, the hills extend to the sea; at twenty-six miles, Jask, a few palm-plantations on the road; Jask lies about two miles from the sea, and eight from the hills. The town consists of about 250 huts, with a mud-fort, but is now almost deserted, owing to a pestilential fever having raged here for some months. The chief has removed his residence to Serík, about eighty miles off. The water is from wells, and mostly brackish. The country around, to some distance, has been cultivated, but is now much neglected. In the last five days' journey over the plains, a number of spots had been cultivated, but the crops had mostly failed for want of rain. Forage for horses every where abounds.

21*st.*—At seven miles, Bamadí, a small village with palms and wells; at twenty miles, amongst hills; at twenty-eight miles, Surks,

a cultivated plain with palms and water; at thirty-three miles, halted at Shírahan, a large village deserted; water good and in plenty from wells: the hills in these parts are not so crowded as in Makran, but admit a free and good passage between them.

22nd.—Halted.

23rd.—At seven miles, a nulla with salt water; at ten miles, Go, a small village with water and cultivation; at seventeen miles, Bareizg, water bad and scarce; at twenty-five miles, Sekoe, a large village and fort; at thirty-one miles, Nemudi, a large village and fort; at thirty-seven miles, Guz, a large village; thirty-eight and a half miles, a nulla which, as rain had fallen in the adjacent hills, had a current of water in it; at forty-six miles, Serik, the residence of Mír Hají, chief of Jask. It contains about 600 huts and a large mud-fort, and is four miles from the sea, and six from the hills of Buskurd. From Shírahan to Gero, the country called Beaban is better inhabited and cultivated than any other in these parts, and, indeed, on the whole way from Jask the plantations of palm are numerous, and the wheat-harvest had been tolerably abundant. The wells in these parts, though numerous, do not supply much water, and a number of them are brackish. Forage is scarce near the road, but abundant on the sands close to the sea-shore. Jask is tributary to the Imâm of Muscat, and pays 2,500 rs. yearly: the inhabitants are Baloches. Quite up to Minab their language approaches nearer to the Persian than that of the Eastern Baloches, which is more intermixed with Sind. Their religion likewise changes from the Suní to the Shíah sect.

24th.—Halted.

25th.—At two miles, Teroe, a small fort and village; at six miles, Gero, a large village and fort, a nulla runs close to it. The dependencies of Jask extend thus far; at thirteen miles, hills extend to the sea; at twenty-five miles, Kohistag, a fort built on an insulated hill on the sea-shore; the wells are on the beach; halted at twenty-eight miles, water and forage in plenty. The hills retire from Kohistag behind Minab, and do not approach the sea again till beyond Bander Abbas.

27th.—At five miles, a salt nulla; at eighteen miles, the cultivated parts of Minab; at nineteen miles, Balali, on the banks of the Minab Nulla; at twenty seven miles, halted at Hukmi.

The fort of Minab is situated partly on a hill, is of little or no strength, and is divided into the upper, centre, and lower forts; the town is large, and the houses built close to the fort, in a much more commodious manner than any I have yet met with. The nulla

breaks through the hills and forms a pass from the eastward. It, and the cuts made to diffuse its waters, serve as ditches to the fort; water flows here continually, but is all consumed in fertilizing the lands, none reaching the sea, although only sixteen miles distant. The cultivated parts of Minab are about forty-five miles in circumference, abounding in palms. This district likewise supplies grain to most of the neighbouring country; its villages are numerous, each having a small fort for the inhabitants to retire to in case of unexpected invasion. Minab would be a most convenient place for an army to halt at, to refresh and collect its provisions; forage is so abundant that the cattle of the neighbouring countries are sent in great numbers to remain here during the hot season. The chief's name is Gholam Alí, but he is quite dependent on the Imam of Muscat, who receives about 30,000 rs. yearly for this district, and keeps a small garrison in the fort. Although not paying revenue direct to Persia, Minab may be considered as part of that kingdom; the neighbouring Persian chiefs are on a good footing with it, and lend their force and protection against its disturbers.

27th.—Halted.

28th.—At seven miles, the cultivated parts of Minab, and at twenty-eight miles, a cistern and caravanserai, but both much out of repair; at thirty-three miles, the nulla of Koventi; at forty-three miles, a salt nulla; at fifty miles, Maknokha, a small village and fort, with wells and cultivation. The road to Maknokha over a barren salt plain; at fifty-six miles, Bander Abbas.

Bander Abbas is in possession of the Seid of Muscat; it is fortified with several walls within each other without ditches. The country around is barren, and the water bad. A good trade is carried on from the interior, the caravans arriving in the cold weather, during which time grain is procurable in large quantities; the customs amount to about 20,000 rs., for which, and the Minab tribute, the Imam of Muscat partly accounts to Persia. There are three roads from Minab to Bander Abbas; the centre, by which I travelled, another by the sea-shore, and a third at the foot of the hills; the last is most frequented, having a number of villages and a good supply of water.

The principal object of my journey having been to ascertain whether it were possible for a European army to penetrate through this country to Sinde, I will proceed to deliver my ideas on that subject. There are two routes by which this might be effected; the first by marching east from Minab, and entering Makran by the pass of Rumishk or Fanoch, and continuing the route by Beint, Geh,

and Keij, at the distance of 90 or 100 miles from the coast, till it falls into the road leading to Corachey from the inland countries.

The commencement of this route, that is, from Minab to Fanoch, has, from all reports, plenty of water, and indeed the old road from Chobar to Minab formerly led by Fanoch. In the whole tract between Rumishk, and where the route joins the Corachey road, water is plentiful. The country produces dates in considerable abundance; flocks are met with, but not very numerous; grain is scarce. This route would be almost impassable to artillery, from the mountainous nature of the greatest part of it; it would be best adapted to infantry, as furnishing a sure supply of water and a considerable quantity of provisions, which could never fail altogether, as the palm-trees offer a sure resource at all seasons. It would be advisable for no larger bodies than 5000 men to move together, as the roads are in some places very difficult.

The second route is along the sea-coast by Jask and Chobar to Corachey; this route is nearly uniform the whole way, over plains, between the sea and mountains; in the part of it that I travelled over, I experienced no want of water, except in a small tract of forty miles between Shírahan and Serik, where the water is soon dried up in the wells, but this is of less consequence, as they are numerous. Little or no rain had fallen this year, and yet the nullas always afforded a large supply of water. Provisions would not be procurable, unless precautions had been taken to collect them at Chobar or Goadur, but flocks both of camels and sheep are numerous. This road would be best adapted to artillery and cavalry, from its level nature, and from furnishing everywhere supplies of forage for horses. The troops should move in bodies not exceeding 2000 or 3000, the water at many of the stations being confined to one spot.

The opposition of the natives might impede, but not obstruct this passage; it would most effectually be offered in the upper route, where irregular troops might continually skirmish—in the plains it would avail nothing; I do not think any would be offered, except instigated by some foreign power, and to effect this no difficulty exists.

Makran is divided among a number of petty chiefs; the principal are those of Bunpore, Geh, Bawu, Surbaz, Keij, Dizéc, Penjgore, and Balah—the three former have already been mentioned. Surbaz lies about fifty miles ESE. of Bunpore, and commands one of the passes leading into Makran. This state was formerly of much greater power than at present, holding the whole country down to the sea, including Bawu and Dashtyarí. The lower districts

have lately been wrested from it by the Judgalls, a tribe which the ancestors of the present chief, Mír Dostín, invited from near Balah, and settled here to enable themselves to resist the power of Keij; its chief places are seated on the nulla which passes Bawu. Keij is reckoned the chief city of Makran, and lies 120 miles east of Casercand, opposite one of the passes; its power is now merely confined to a small district near the town; it has two forts, the larger being held by a governor from Kelat i Sewir, the smaller by the chief Marrab Khan; he is of a tribe called Gijki, from the name of a town some days' journey NE. of Keij, whence he derives his origin. The produce of Keij is the same as that of Surbaz; the nature of the country is mountainous. Dizec lies 100 miles east of Bunpore, and its inhabitants are nearly as famous for rapine as the Narroís. In their plundering expeditions they have been known to move upwards of 200 miles in three days, sweeping the country of its inhabitants and cattle. The territory of Dizec is a mixture of plains and hills. Penjgore lies 100 miles ENE. of Dizec, and is still tributary to Kelat; its territory is mountainous. Balah is a short distance inland from Lonemeany; the inhabitants are in a better state than most of the Baloches. Buskurd, which belongs to Kerman, lies at the western extremity of Makran, and occupies the nook of land which projects into the Indian Ocean, and forms one side of the entrance of the Gulf of Persia, leaving a small extent of plain between the mountains and the sea; it is the most mountainous in these parts, and is inhabited by a brave and hardy race, who sometimes infest the lower roads towards Minab; it yields excellent dates, and carpets of a mixture of cotton and wool are its chief manufacture: springs of water abound through it.

Makran was conquered by Nassír Khan, Chief of Kelat i Sewir; but on his death, about fifteen years ago, either his son's indolence, or the country producing little advantage, has caused this authority to be relinquished, and the present chief has only possession of a fort at Keij. Braoví is the name of the Kelat tribe, and they are in a better state of civilization than any of the Baloches; a considerable intercourse subsists with Kandahar, Korachey, and Hyderabad. The climate of Kelat is so cold that there is snow four months in the year.

The whole force of Makran, exclusive of Kelat, may amount to about 25,000 men, but in the present state of things, it would be impossible to make them act together; indeed the country has not resources to maintain them in a body for any considerable time; when a chief takes the field, he summons his vassals, who are obliged

to attend him forty days at their own cost; but in general, the affair is decided in twelve or fifteen days. Instead of pay, these men are assessed at a lower rate than the other inhabitants, and are frequently altogether exempted. As soldiers, the Baloches are neither remarkable for great bravery nor for a deficiency of that quality, but in general they might be reckoned steady men; they are very expert with the matchlock, which, with a sword, shield, and large knife, forms their equipment; they seldom quit their houses unarmed. A great number of them are employed by the Arabs in their dows and ships of Muscat, and they are reckoned very faithful.

The lower and central countries of Makran are chiefly employed in agriculture, the manufacture of cloths, and attention to their flocks. They are, I think, a quiet and well-disposed people; the Baloches of the hills, who lead a savage life, apart from the towns, sometimes infest the roads; in the higher countries the inhabitants are more inured to blood and rapine, esteeming attention to their lands as an object of much less importance than arms, but I found them hospitable, and a manly freedom characterizes them; they are a more robust and braver race than the southern tribe, and so much have they prevailed in all their contests, that the name of a Narroí strikes terror through Makran.

In the above remarks nothing that has fallen under my own observation has been misstated; whatever has been received from report, has been carefully selected, but should there be any errors under this head, they must plead for their excuse, the circumstances under which the information was collected.

(Signed) N. P. Grant.

Extract of a Letter from Captain Grant to Sir H. Worsley, on his return from his Journey through Makran.

" The object of my late mission was to ascertain whether an European army could penetrate into India by the southern coast of Persia; for which purpose I landed at Chobar, and finished my journey at Gambroon.

"From the judgment I could form, I conceive the design perfectly practicable; the great obstacle that was supposed to exist, was the scarcity of water, but I found such idea was erroneous.

" I travelled in my European dress, and found the inhabitants more civil and hospitable than they had been represented. I made the purchase of a few horses the ostensible object of my journey."

Note by Sir H. Worsley on the assassination of Capt. Grant.

In 1810, Capt. Grant was appointed one of the assistants, and to the command of the escort with Brigadier-General Malcolm, on his mission to Persia. After reaching the Persian Gulf, Capt. Grant was detached with Cornet Fotheringham, of the Madras Cavalry, to explore the country and routes between the river Tigris and the dominions of Persia, on that frontier. The last letter, I believe, from Capt. Grant, is dated Bagdad, the 28th of March, 1810, in which he says, "I march for Ispahan to-morrow."

Proceeding in an eastwardly direction, when in the vicinity of Kurreemabad, he was made prisoner by a rebel Persian chief, who, after entertaining the party in a tent for two days, agreed to accept of a present, but, unaccountably, on the third day, after Capt. Grant had mounted his horse, shot him dead. They seized and bound Cornet Fotheringham and their two Christian servants, and after two days' confinement, took them out and shot them.

Measures were taken by the King of Persia to have the murderer apprehended; and he determined, as was announced, that the rebel, when taken, should have his eyes put out and his hands cut off; but whether he was ever taken, I never heard.

Extract of a Letter from Brigadier General Malcolm, addressed to the Adjutant General's Office, Bengal. Dated Bombay, June the 11*th,* 1811.

"I wish to embrace this occasion for expressing my sentiments on the extraordinary merits of the late Capt. N. P. Grant, by furnishing you with an extract from the letter I addressed to the Governor General on the melancholy subject of his death.

"I am gratified to learn that a Cenotaph has been erected to Captain Grant's memory by the officers of his corps, and Lieut.-Colonel Worsley. If it be possible, I should wish to have my name among those who have resolved upon an act that has (as far as I can judge) a value far beyond the usual demonstrations of sorrowing friendship. It is more than the commemoration of a friend;—it is the erection of a durable moment to the noblest qualities of our nature; to courage, enterprise, and public virtue."

Extract of a Letter from Brigadier-General Malcolm to the Right Honourable the Governor General in Council. Dated May 11*th,* 1810, *in Persia.*

"Your Lordship will conceive the anguish of mind under which I make this report. In the death of Captain Grant, I have to regret a friend, for whom I cherished the warmest regard and esteem.

"The public has sustained a most severe loss. His character was formed for enterprise, and had he lived, his courage and talents would have rendered him conspicuous in the highest walks of the service to which he belonged."

INSCRIPTION ON A CENOTAPH,

ERECTED AT BARRACKPOOR, BY CAPTAIN GRANT'S BROTHER OFFICERS.

"Man cometh up and is cut down like a flower." "In the midst of life we are in death."

TO PERPETUATE THE REMEMBRANCE
OF
PROFESSIONAL GALLANTRY, MANLY CHARACTER,
AND PRIVATE WORTH,
THIS CENOTAPH IS INSCRIBED,
BY HIS
BROTHER OFFICERS,
TO THE
MEMORY OF CAPTAIN N. P. GRANT,
OF THE
15TH REGIMENT OF BENGAL SEPOYS;
WHO, WHILST EMPLOYED IN THE SERVICE OF HIS COUNTRY,
WAS SLAIN BY BANDITTI,
NEAR THE CITY OF KURREEMABAD,
IN PERSIA,
IN THE MONTH OF APRIL, 1810,
AT THE EARLY AGE OF TWENTY-SIX YEARS.

N.B. On the marble slab, over the inscription, is the emblem of a snapt lily.

MR. WATHEN'S ANCIENT INSCRIPTIONS.

Article XXIII.

Abstract Translation of an Inscription engraved on Copper-plates, in a very ancient type of the Purvada Hálla Cánara character, and in the Sanskrita Language, in the possession of Captain T. B. Jervis, of the Bombay Engineers; which was found in the Southern Mahratta Country, or Karnáta; the date of which is Saca 411 (A. D. 490).

May Vishnu in the Varáha Avatára ever be victorious.

The celebrated Chálukya race is of the Manu-gotra, (descended from Manu,) by the lineage of Harita: protected by the Lords of the seven Lokas—favoured by Kártikeya, by the blessing of Vishnu, it has acquired the ensign of the Varáha.

Of such race was a chief ornament Jayasinha Rája.

His son was Rana-rága.

Whose son Pulakésí rendered himself pure by the performance of the Aswa-medha (the sacrifice of a horse); he possessed the horse named Chitra-Kantha; thus aided, he overthrew the pillars of victory, erected by inimical kings.

Supreme Sovereign of the countries betwixt the Gangá (Ganges) and Setu-bandha, (Rámeswar, or Adam's bridge,) whose banners wave over the banks of the Gangá and Yamuná, (Jumna,) attached to whose court is a royal band of music.

A king, who has levied tribute from the princes of Chola, (Tanjore, &c.,) Chera, and Kerala, (Malabar and Tulava); as also from those of Sinhalá, (Ceylon,) and Kalinga, (Orissa and Kuttack); one who has chastised the Sovereign of Pándya, (Madura,) whose mandates are everywhere enforced by the power of his victorious arms.

Such a mighty King is he, whose name is Pulakesi, and title Satyásrya; and further, Prithivi-vallabha, Mahárájádhíràja, whose sole Chatra, (royal umbrella,) is exalted throughout the world (India).

This king reigning at such fortunate epoch.

There is a chief of the race, styled Rája-rudra, whose lineage is as follows:—

Gonda, whose son was Samara-rasa-rasika, his dependant, who served him as Hanumán, Rámchandra, named Saniyára, ruled the

country of Kúhandí-desa, the capital being Alaktaká-nagara, being the chief town of a province of seven hundred villages.

This prince, having commenced building a Jaina temple, called Tri-bhuvana-tilaka, ornamented with numerous pillars of beauteous form, completed the same in the year of Saka 411, the year of the cycle being Vibhava, on the day of the full moon of Vaisákha, an awful day, Ráhu having overshadowed the moon (a lunar eclipse).

At such period the great king (Pulakesi) having visited the chief's house, of his great friendship on such occasion, he, Saniyára, having prayed the great king, the mighty Satyásrya, to grant some lands for the maintenance of worship in the Jaina temple which he had constructed.

The great Satyásrya, then considering that human existence, as a flash of lightning, or the colours of the rainbow, is but present as it were for a moment, and vanishes in an instant; that its duration is so uncertain, and that advantage should be taken during its continuance, for the performance of acts of piety, to which effect examples have been shown by the great and good, who have formerly existed—granted, by a royal mandate, on such full moon of Vaisákha, on the occasion of an eclipse, lands for the support of the Jaina temple.

There was a famed spiritual preceptor of the Jaina sect, named Sidhánandí, deeply versed in the sacred books and mysteries of the Jaina faith.

His disciple was Chitakáchárya, entitled Nágadeva, whose disciples were five hundred in number.

Jínánandí is his successor, replete with virtuous qualities, and profoundly versed in the Jaina books.

The princes of the Jaina faith resort to him, bowing their heads at his feet: thus is he, as a great king, adored.

To such high priest of the Jaina temple, the great king Satyásrya grants villages and lands*.

REMARKS.

This inscription throws much additional light on the history of the Chálukya dynasty of the south; for, as Professor Wilson correctly judged, the Rájas denominated by me in the memoir published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, for August, 1835, "Chámushya," belonged to the same family, as, on referring to those plates†,

* There is a long description of the beauty of the town Alaktaká, and also a statement of the villages and fields granted, which have been omitted.

† In the library of the B. B. R. A. S. at Bombay.

INSCRIPTION I.

स्वस्तिजयंत्यनंतसंसारपारावारैकसेतवः महावराहतज्जा
ताश्वरणांबुजरेणवः श्रीमतांविश्वविश्वंभराभिसंस्तूयमान
मानव्यसगोत्राणांहारितिपुत्राणांसप्तलोकमातृभिस्सप्तमा
तृभिरभिरक्षितानांकार्तिकेयपरिरक्षणप्राप्तकल्याणपरंपरा
णां भगवन्नारायणप्रसादसमासादितवराहलांछनेक्षणव
शीकृताशेषमहीभृतानांचालुक्यानांकुलमलंकरिष्णोःस्वभु
जोपार्जितवसुंधरस्यनिजयशःश्रवणमात्रेणैवावनतराजक
स्यकीर्तिपताकावभासितदिगंतरालस्यजयसिंहस्यराजसिं
हस्यसूनुः सूनृतवागनवरतदानाद्रीकृतकरः सुरगजइवप्रश
मनिधिस्तपोनिधिरिवदृप्तवैरिषुप्राप्तरणरागोरणरागोभव
त् तस्यचात्मजोश्वमेधतोवभृतस्नानपवित्रीकृतगात्रोप्रणत
परनृपतिमुकुटतटघटितलुठन्मणिगणकिरणवार्द्धाराधौत
चारुचरणकमलयुगलो चित्रकंठाभिधानतुरंगमकंठीरवे
णोत्सारितारातिस्तंभोरविमंडलोवर्णाश्रमसर्वधर्मपरिपा
लनपरोगंगासेतुमध्यवर्तिदेशाधीश्वरोशक्तित्रयप्रवर्द्धितप्रा
ज्यसाम्राज्यो गंगायमुनापालिध्वजढक्कादिपंचमहाशब्द
चिन्होकरदीकृतचोलचेरकेरलसिंहलकलिंगभूपालोदंडि
तपांड्यादिमांडलीकोस्त्वप्रतिशासनसत्याश्रयः श्रीपुलके

श्यभिधानपृथिवीवल्लभमहाराजाधिराजोपृथिवीमेकातप
त्रांशासतिसतिराजरुद्रनीलसैंद्रकवंशशशां कायमानप्रचंड
दोर्दंडमंडितमंडलाग्रोगोंडनामासीत् आयनयविनयसंपन्न
स्तनयोस्य समररसरसिकस्सिधाराख्ययाख्यातः पुत्रोस्य
भूतधात्रीतिलकायमानःपराक्रमाक्रांतवैरिनिकुरंबःअवा
र्य्यवीर्य्यसमन्वितःकार्याकार्यनिपुणःहनुमानिवरामस्याभि
रामस्यतस्यभृत्यःसत्यसंन्धो धार्मिकस्सामियारस्समभूत्स
तत्प्रसादसमासादितकुहुंडीविषयस्तंपरिपालयंतदन्तभूता
लक्तकाभिधाननगर्य्यां ग्रामसप्तशतराजधान्यामशेषविषय
विशेषकायमानायांशालिव्रीहीक्षूचणकप्रियंगुवरकेदारक
श्यामाकगोधूमाद्यनेकधान्यसमृद्धायां तद्देशविलासिनीमु
खकमलमिवविराजमानायांधनधान्यपरिपूर्णकृषीवलप्रा
यायां ॥ ऐंद्र्यांदिशिमहेंद्राभप्रासादंप्रवरंमहत् जिनेंद्रायत
नंभक्त्याकारयत्सुमनोहरंप्रोत्तुंगप्रासादं त्रिभुवनतिलकंजि
नालयंप्रवरंनानास्तंभसमुद्धृतविराजमानंचिरंजगति ॥
शकनृपाब्देष्वेकादशोत्तरेषु चतुः शतेषुव्यतीतेषु विभवसंव
त्सरेप्रवर्तमाने ॥ कृतेचजिनालयेवैशाखोदितपूर्णापुण्य
दिवसेराहौविधौमंडलंश्लेष्टे - - - कमज्जनादुपगतस्तेहाद्गृह
भूभुजंश्रीसत्याश्रयमाश्रयंगुणवतांविज्ञापयामास सतज्जै
नालयपूजनोचितभूतक्षेत्रायधर्मप्रिया ॥ आयुर्जन्मवता
मिदं ननु तडित्संध्येंद्रचापोपमंज्ञात्वाधर्मधनार्जनंबुधजनैर्म
र्त्यैः फलंमन्यते इत्येवंप्रविबोध्यसभ्यजनतांसत्याश्रयोवल्ल
भोभक्त्यातज्जिनमंदिरोपमक्रियेक्षत्रंददौशासनं ॥ वैशा

खेपौर्णमास्यांराहौविधुमंडलंप्रविष्टवति ॥ श्रीसत्याश्रय
नृपतिस्त्रिभुवनतिलकायदत्तवान्क्षेत्रं ॥ कनकोपलसंभूत
वृक्षमूलगणान्वयी ॥ भूतस्समग्रराद्धांतःसिद्धनंदीमुनी
श्वरः ॥ तस्यासीत्प्रथमःशिष्योदेवताविनुतक्रमः ॥ शि
ष्यैःपंचशतैर्युक्तश्चित्तकाचार्यसंज्ञितः ॥ श्रीमत्काकोपला
म्नायेख्यातकीर्तिर्बहुश्रुतः ॥ लक्ष्मीवान्नागदेवाख्यश्चित्त
काचार्यदीक्षितः ॥ नागदेवगुरोःशिष्यःप्रभूतगुणवारिधिः
समस्तशास्त्रसंबोधिजिननंदिःप्रकीर्तितः ॥ श्रीमद्विविध
राजेंद्रप्रस्फुरन्मुकुटालिभिः ॥ निघृष्टचरणाब्जायप्रभवेजि
ननंदिने ॥ जिननंद्याचार्यसूर्य्यायदुश्चरतपोविशेषनिक
षोपलभूतायसमधिगतसर्वशास्त्रायनगरांस्तलभोगांश्चप्र
ददौतत्रतलभोगसीमान्याहचैत्यालयाद्वायव्यांदिशितटाकं
ततो ऋजुसूत्रक्रमेणपश्चिमाभिमुखंगत्वापथंतस्यमध्येनि
खातपाषाणंतस्माद्दक्षिणाभिमुखमनुपथंगत्वाप्रवाहंतस्यां
मध्येनिखातपाषाणंपूर्वाभिमुखंगत्वातिंत्रिणीकवृक्षंयावत्त
स्मादुत्तराभिमुखंगत्वापूर्वोक्ततटाकंयावत्स्थितंचतन्नगरनि
वेशनक्षेत्रं तत्रतलभोगक्षेत्रसीमान्याहनगरस्यदक्षिणस्यां
दिशि सेतुबन्धात्प्रभृत्यनुजलवाहलंपूर्वाभिमुखंगत्वा याव
दौंछिकक्षेत्रं तत्पश्चिमसीम्निनिखातपाषाणं यावत्तस्मादनु
सीमोत्तराभिमुखंगत्वायावल्लक्ष्मीवल्मीकंतस्मात्पुनःपूर्वा
भिमुखंगत्वायावत्स्थलगिरितस्मात्पुनरनुगिर्य्योत्तराभिमु
खंगत्वायावद्गिरिरुच्चप्रदेशंतस्मात्पश्चिमाभिमुखंगत्वायाव
द्गिरितस्मात्पश्चिमाभिमुखंगत्वायावत्तलगिरितस्माद्दक्षि

णाभिमुखं गत्वा यावत्सेतुबंधनस्थितंराजमानेनपंचाशत्
उत्तरनिवर्तनशतंतलभोगक्षेत्रंचतुःसीमावरुद्धं ॥ नरिंद
कनामग्रामनैर्ऋत्यांदिशि नरिंदकनाम रिवाद्ग्रामपथिम
ध्यवर्तिनींगट्टगतटाकादृजुसूत्रक्रमेणनरिंदकग्रामपथं याव
त्तावत्स्थितं चत्वारिंशत् निवर्तनंक्षेत्रं दक्षिणदिशिराजमा
नेन ॥ किणयिगेनाम ग्रामपूर्वस्यांदिशिअशीतिनिवर्तनं
क्षेत्रंराजमानेनपिशाचारामान्नैर्ऋत्यांदिशि यावच्छमीरूढ
वल्मीकंतस्मात्पूर्वाभिमुखंगत्वायावत्पथंतस्मात् दक्षिणा
भिमुखंगत्वा यावत्स्थलगिरितस्मात्पश्चिमाभिमुखमनुस्थ
लगिरिं गत्वायावच्छमीस्थलंतस्मादुत्तराभिमुखंगत्वायाव
च्छमीरूढवल्मीकंस्थितंचतुःस्सीमावरुद्धं ॥ पंत्तिगणगे
नामग्रामेनैर्ऋत्यांदिशिमान्यस्यक्षेत्रउत्तरस्यां दिशि चत्वा
रिंशन्निवर्तनंक्षेत्रंराजमानेनपश्चिमांदिशिस्थलगिरितस्मा
दनुसीमंपूर्वाभिमुखंगत्वा यावच्छमिवल्मीकंतस्माद्दक्षिणा
भिमुखंगत्वाकोमरंचिग्रामसीमातस्मात्पूर्वाभिमुखमनुसी
मं गत्वा यावज्जलवाहालंतस्मादुत्तराभिमुखमनुवाहलंग
त्वायावच्छमीरूढवल्मीकंतस्मात्पश्चिमाभिमुखं गत्वा याव
त्तटाकोंतरकोटितस्माद्दक्षिणाभिमुखमनुस्थलगिरिं गत्वा
यावत्तावत्स्थितंचतुःस्सीमाविरुद्धं ॥ मगोलिनामग्राम
पश्चिम दिशि राजमानेनचत्वारिंशन्निवर्तनंक्षेत्रंतस्यसीमा
न्याहस्थलगिरेः पश्चिमाभिमुखमनुपथंगत्वायावद्दुवीकग्रा
मसीमातस्मादुत्तराभिमुखमनुसीम गत्वा यावत्स्थलगिरि
तस्मात्पूर्वाभिमुखमनुस्थलगिरिं गत्वा यावत्स्थलगिरित

स्माद्दक्षिणाभिमुखमनुस्थलगिरिंगत्वास्थितंचतुस्सीमाव
रुद्धं ॥ करंदिगेनामग्रामपश्चिमस्यांदिशिचंन्दवुरपंदजेव
ल्लीनामग्राममार्गमध्येअश्वत्थतटाकवायव्यांदिशि राजमा
नेनपंचविंशतिनिवर्तनंक्षेत्रं ॥ टावनवल्लीनामग्रामपश्चि
मस्यां दिशि अलक्कनगरकुंवयीजनामग्राममार्गमध्येअं
बालयपिशाचारामात्पश्चिमेराजमानेनचत्वारिंशन्निवर्तनं
क्षेत्रं ॥ पुनरपितस्मिन्नेवग्रामदक्षिणस्यांदिशिहिंगुदीत
टाकादुत्तरसमीपस्थंराजमानेनशतंनिवर्तनंक्षेत्रं ॥ नंदि
णीगेनामग्रामपूर्वस्यां दिशि पिरवुलिकसीमश्रीपुरमार्ग
मध्येराजमानेनचत्वारिंशन्निवर्तनंक्षेत्रं ॥ निरिपट्टीनाम
ग्रामपश्चिमस्यां दिशि श्रीपुरमार्गतोदक्षिणतोराजमानेन
चत्वारिंशन्निवर्तनंक्षेत्रं ॥ अर्जुनवादनामग्रामपश्चिमस्यां
दिशि श्रीपुरमार्गतो उत्तरतोराजमानेनपंचाशन्निवर्तनं
क्षेत्रं ॥ ग्रामनामान्याह ॥ कुंम्बयीजद्वादशभ्योंतःरुविधो
नामग्रामःप्रथमः ॥ सामरिवादोनामग्रामःद्वितीयः ॥
बद्धमालेद्वादशस्यांतःअट्टीवादोनामग्रामःतृतीयः ॥ श्री
पुरद्वादशस्यमध्येपल्लीदकोनामग्रामःचतुर्थः ॥ इत्येतेच
त्वारोग्रामाः चतुःसीमावरुद्धक्षेत्राःसोद्रंगाःसपरिकराः आ
चाटभटाप्रवेश्याःतदागामिभिरस्मद्वंश्यैरन्यैश्चराजभिरायुरै
श्वर्यानब्धिलसितमचिरांशुचंचलमवगच्छद्भिराचंद्रार्कध
रार्णवस्थितिसमाकालयशश्चिचिषुभिः स्वदत्तनिर्विशेषंप
रिपालनीयमुक्तंचमन्वादिभिः ॥ बहुभिर्वसुधाभुक्ताराज
भिःसगरादिभिः ॥ यस्ययस्ययदाभूमिस्तस्यतस्यतदाफलं ॥

स्वंदातुंसुमहच्छक्यंदुःखमन्यत्रपालनं ॥ दानंवापालनंश्रे
योश्रेयोदानस्यपालनं ॥ स्वदत्तांपरदत्तांवायोहरेतवसुंध
रां ॥ षष्ठिवर्षसहस्राणिविष्ठायांजायतेक्रिमिः ॥

INSCRIPTION II.

सवोव्याद्वेधसाधामयन्नाभिकमलंकृतं ॥ हरश्चयस्यकान्तें
दुकलयाकमलंकृतं ॥ भूपोभवद्बृहदुरस्थलराजमानश्री
कौस्तुभायतकरैरुपगूढकाष्ठः ॥ सत्यान्वितोविपुलचक्रवि
निर्जितारिचक्रोप्यकृष्णचरितोभुविकृष्णराजः ॥ पक्षच्छेदभ
याश्रिताखिलमहाभूभृत्कुलभ्राजिताद्दुर्लंघ्यात्परैरनेकवि
मलभ्राजिष्णुरत्नान्वितात् ॥ यश्चालुक्यकुलादनूनवि
बुधव्राताश्रयोवारिधेर्लक्ष्मींमंदरवत्सलीलमचिरादाकृष्ट
वांवल्लभः ॥ तस्याभूत्तनयःप्रतापविसरैराक्रांतदिङ्मंडल
श्चंडांशोसदृशोप्यचंडकरताप्रल्हादितक्ष्मातलः ॥ पौरोधै
र्यधनोविपक्षवनितावक्त्रांबुजश्रीहरोहारीकृत्ययशोयदीय
मनिशंदिङ्नायिकाभिर्धृतं ॥ ज्येष्ठोल्लंघनजातयाप्यमल
यालक्ष्म्यासमेतोपिसन्योभूनिर्मलमंडलस्थितियुतोदोषा
करोनक्कचित् ॥ कर्णोपस्थितदानसंततिभृतोयस्यान्यदाना
धिकंदानंवीक्ष्यसुलज्जिताइवदिशांप्रांतेस्थितादिग्गजाः ॥
अन्योंडजातविजितंगुरुशक्तिसारमाक्रांतभूतलमनन्यसमा

नमानं ॥ येनेहबद्धमवलोक्यचिरायगांगंपूरंस्वनिग्रहभि
येवकलिःप्रयातः ॥ हेलांस्वीकृतगौडराज्यकमलामत्तंप्र
वेश्याचिराद्दुर्मार्गंमरुमन्यमप्रतिबलैर्योवत्सराजंबलैः ॥
गौरीशंशरदिंदुपादधवलंछत्रद्वयंकेवलंतस्मान्नाहृततद्यशो
पिककुभांप्रांतेस्थितंतत्क्षणात् ॥ लब्धप्रतिष्ठमचिरायक
लिंसुदूरमुत्सार्यशुद्धचरितैर्धरणीतलस्य ॥ कृत्वापुनःकृत
युगश्रियमेवशेषंचित्रंकलिंनिरुपमःकलिवल्लभोभूत् ॥ प्रा
भूद्धैर्यवतस्ततोनिरुपमादिंदुर्यथावारिधेः शुद्धात्मापरमेश्व
रोन्नतगिरःसंसक्तपादःसुतः ॥ पद्मानंदकरःप्रतापसहितो
नित्योदयः सोन्नतः पूर्वाद्रेरिवभानुमानभिमतोगोविंदरा
जःसतां ॥ यस्मिंसर्वगुणाश्रयेक्षितिपतौश्रीराष्ट्रकूटान्वये
जातेयादववंशवन्मधुरिपावासीदलंघ्यःपरैः ॥ दृष्टाशाव
धयःकृतास्वसदृशादानेनयेनोद्धतामुक्ताहारविभूषितास्फुट
मितिप्रत्यर्थिनोप्यर्थिनां ॥ आस्तांताततवैतदप्रतिहता
दत्तात्वयाकंटिकाकिंवाज्ञेनमयोद्धृतेतिपितरंयुक्तंवचोयोभ्य
धात् ॥ तस्मिन्स्वर्गविभूषणायजनकेयातेयशःशेषतामे
कीभूयसमुद्यतान्वसुमतीनेकोपियोद्वादशान् ॥ ख्यातान
प्यधिकप्रतापविसरैःसांवर्तकोर्कानिव ॥ येनात्यंतदयालु
नाथनिगडक्लेशादपास्यायताःस्वन्देशंगमितोपिदर्पविसरा
द्यःप्रातिकूल्येस्थितः ॥ यावन्नभृकुटीललाटफलकेयस्यो
न्नतेलक्ष्यतेविक्षेपेणविजित्यतावदचिराद्बद्धःसगंगःपुनः ॥
तत्पादानतिमात्रकैकशरणामालोक्यलक्ष्मींनिजान्दूरान्मा
लवनायकोनयपरीयत्प्राणमत्प्रांजलिः ॥ कोविद्वान्बलि

नासहाल्पबलकः स्पर्द्धोविधत्तेपरां नीतेस्तद्धिफलंयदात्म
परयोराधिक्यसंवेदनं ॥ विंध्याद्रेःकटकेनिविष्टकटकंश्रुत्वा
चरैर्यन्निजैः स्वंदेशंसमुपागतंध्रुवमिवज्ञात्वाभियाप्रेरितः ॥
माराशर्वमहीपतिर्द्रुतमगादप्राप्तपूर्वैः परैः यस्येच्छामनुकू
लयंकुलधनैःपादौप्रणामैरपि ॥ नीत्वाश्रीभवनेघनाघन
घनव्याप्तांबरांप्रावृषंतस्मादागतवान्समंनिजबलैरातुंगभ
द्रातटं ॥ तत्रस्थःस्वकरस्थितामपिपुनर्निःशेषमाकृष्टवान्
विक्षेपैरपिचित्रमानतरिपुर्यःपल्लवानाश्रियं ॥ संत्रासा
त्परचक्रराजकमगात्तत्पूर्वसेवा विधिर्योबद्धांजलिशोभिते
नशरणंमूर्ध्नायदंघ्रिद्वयं ॥ यद्यद्दत्तपरार्घ्यभूषणगणैर्नालंकृ
तंतत्तथामाभैषीरितिसत्यपालितयशःस्थित्यायथातद्गिरा ॥
तेनेदमनिलविद्युच्चंचलमवलोक्य जीवितमसारंक्षितिदा
नपरमपुण्यःप्रवर्तितोब्रह्मदायोयंसचपरमभट्टारकमहारा
जाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीमद्धारावर्षदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टा
रकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीप्रभूतवर्षदेवपृथ्वीवल्लभः
श्रीगोविंदराजदेवः कुशलीसर्वानेवयथासंबध्यमानकान्
राष्ट्रपतिविषयपतिग्रामकूटयुक्तकनियुक्तकाधिकारिक मह
त्तरादीन्समादिशत्यस्तुवः संविदितंयथामयूरखंडीसमावा
सितेनमयामातापित्रोरात्मनश्चैहिकामुष्मिकपुण्ययशोभि
वृद्धये वेशिंवास्तव्य त्रातुर्विद्यसामान्यभारद्वाजसगोत्रतैति
रीयसब्रह्मचारिविष्णुभट्टपौत्रायदामोदरद्विवेदिपुत्रायदामो
दरचतुर्वेदभट्टायनासिकदेशीयवण् नगरविषयान्तर्गतःअं
बकग्रामःतस्यचाघाटाःपूर्वतःवडतुरग्रामः दक्षिणतः वारि

खेडग्रामपश्चिमतःपल्लितवारग्रामः पुलिंदानदीयउत्तरतः
पद्मवालग्रामःएवमयंचतुराघाटनोपलक्षितःसोद्रंगःसप
रिकरःसदंडदेशापराधः सभूतोपात्तप्रत्यायःसोत्पद्यमानवि
ष्टिकः सधान्यहिरण्योदेयः आचाटभटप्रावेश्यसर्वराजकी
यानामहस्तत्क्षेपणीयः आचंद्रार्कार्णवक्षितिसरित्पर्वतस
मकालीनपुत्रपौत्रान्वयक्रमोपभोग्यः पूर्वप्रदत्तदेवब्रह्मदा
यरहितोभ्यंतरसिद्ध्याभूमिछिद्रन्यायेनशकनृपकालातीतसं
वत्सरशतेषु सप्तसु त्रिदशदधिकेषुव्ययसंवत्सरेवैशाखसितपौ
र्णमासीसोमग्रहणमहापर्वणिबलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रा
तिथिपंचमहायज्ञक्रियोत्सर्पणार्थं स्नात्वार्घोदकातिसर्गेण
प्रतिपादितः यतोस्योचितयाब्रह्मदायस्थित्याभुंजतोभोजय
तः कृषतः कर्षयतः प्रतिदिशतोवानकैश्चिदल्पापिपरिपंथ
नाकार्या ॥ तथागामिभद्रनृपतिभिरस्मद्वंश्यैरन्यैर्वासामा
न्यंभूमिदानफलमवेत्य विद्युल्लोलान्यनित्यैश्वर्याणितृणाग्र
लग्नजलबिंदुचंचलंचजीवितमाकलय्यस्वदायनिर्विशेषो
यमस्मद्दायोऽनुमंतव्यःप्रतिपालयितव्यश्चयश्चाज्ञानतिमि
रपटलावृतमतिराछिद्यादाछिद्यमानकंवानुमोदेत सपंच
भिर्महापातकैश्चसंयुक्तःस्यात् इत्युक्तंचभगवतावेदव्यासेन
व्यासेन षष्टिंवर्षसहस्राणिस्वर्गेतिष्ठतिभूमिदः ॥ आछेत्ता
चानुमंताचतान्येवनरकेवसेत् ॥ बहुभिर्वसुधाभुक्ताराज
भिःसगरादिभिः ॥ यस्ययस्ययदाभूमिस्तस्यतस्यतदाफलं ॥
सर्वानेतान्भाविनःपार्थिवेंद्रान्भूयोभूयोयाचतेरामभद्रः ॥
सामान्योयंधर्मसेतुर्नृपाणांकालेकालेपालनीयोभवद्भिः ॥

इतिकमलदलांबुबिंदुलोलांश्रियमनुचिंत्यमनुष्यजीवितं
चत्र्अतिविमलमनोभिरात्मलीनैर्नहिपुरुषैः परकीर्त्तयोपि
गोप्याः लिखितंश्रीमदरुणादित्येनवत्सराजपुत्रेणभूविरा
मदूतेन ॥

I find the name is Chálukya, and that the mistake originated with my Pandit.

I have again carefully examined that inscription, and am now enabled to give a complete list of the kings of the dynasty.

1. Jayasinha Vallabha I., whose title appears to have been Jagadekamalla, may be supposed to have commenced his reign about Saka 371 (A. D. 450).

In proof of the antiquity of this family, this prince is stated, not to have founded, but re-established, the Chálukya kingdom.

Conquest of the Ráshtra-kúta king, Krishna Rája's son, whose title was Ráshtrakúta-kulendra, lord of eighteen hundred elephants (these were the Rájas of Berar and Gondwana 'Chandail').

2. Rana-rága; his reign may have commenced Saka 391 (A. D. 470).

3. Pulakesi, whose title was Satyásraya; he reigned in Saka 411 (A. D. 490), being the king mentioned in the inscription now translated.

It is probable that as this prince performed the Aswa-medha, many inscriptions relative to his reign will still be discovered; for it is mentioned, that on such occasion he gave away innumerable villages.

4. Kuti-varma; who is said to have conquered the ancient capital of Rája Nala (Naldroog or Beder).

Conquest over the Maurya and Kadamba princes.

5. Mangalísa-Satyásraya. Expedition by sea, and conquest of Revatí-dwipa; this may be, probably Sumatra, or one of the eastern islands; we know that at a remote period they were under Hindu princes, and have many traditions relating thereto.

6. Neramarí.

7. Adítya Varma.

8. Vikramáditya I.

9. Yúdha-malla.

10. Vijayáditya.

11. Vikramáditya II.

12. Kúti-varma II.

13. Taila-bhúpatí. Revolutions seriously affecting this dynasty are here darkly alluded to.

14. Bhíma.

15. Kúti-varma III; during whose reign an invasion took place.

16. Apanárya, who restored the Chálukya power.

17. Vikramáditya III. Satyásraya, who married Wonthádevi, daughter of Lakshmana Rája, of Sisupála's family.

18. Taila-bhúpa II., who conquered the Ráshtra-kúta Rájas of

Ranástambha (Chandail, in Berar), and Karkara (?), and thus recovered the countries which had been taken by those princes; he married Jakava-devi, daughter of Bháma-harba of the Ráshtra-kuta race.

19. Satyásraya.

20. Jayasinha II. (?)

21. Dasa-Varma.

22. Jagadeka Malla (?)

23. Jayasinha III., whose titles were, Sri-Prithivi, Vallabha Mahárάj-ádhirája, Paramesvara, Parama-bhatáraka, Satyásraya, Kulatilaka, Sarvasta-bhuwanásraya, Chálukyá bhárana, Srimad Jagadekamalla-deva, Srimad Vallabha-narendra-deva; who is described as having returned with his victorious army from the south, after the conquest of Panchadrúmíla-nagara, the capital of the Chola king.

This prince reigned in Saka 946 (A. D. 1025), as appears from the inscription in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* before alluded to, and five hundred and thirty-five years after Pulakesi.

This gives rather more than twenty-five years for the reign of each prince; and the date of the inscription now translated, (the original plates were taken to England by Captain Jervis,) will prove this dynasty to have been very powerful, so far back as the fifth century of the Christian era; about the same time that the Vallabhi princes were reigning at Vallabhipura in Gujarát.

The fact of a king of Hindú faith, sanctioning a very extensive grant of fields and villages to a Jain institution, is singular: it would appear that much toleration was shown by some kings of this dynasty to the Jaina sect, and that the persecution of those heretics did not take place until a much later period than is supposed.

The same circumstance may also lead us to doubt whether the doctrines of Sankara Achárya, the great enemy of the Jainas, had at this period spread much in Karnátaka.

It may be interesting to those who are inclined to speculate on the ancient history of India, to learn that many of the family names of the Rájpútra tribes in the north, and also of the old Dynasties, are at the present moment found among that race of men who are emphatically styled in the Dekkan, Marrattas, in contradistinction to the Kunbí, or cultivator, and other tribes who inhabit the country.

For example, "Selar," the appellation of the dynasty, entitled Lords of Tagara-pura; the "Morí," (Maurya); "Solankhí," (Chálukya); the "Jádows," (Yádava); the "Powár," (Pramára); and "Chowán," are very generally to be met with, as "Ad-námas," or family names, in various parts of the country.

The "Solankhí' are to be found chiefly in the vicinity of Kolápura; Colonel Tod supposes—on what authority is not stated—that the "Sirkhí," esteemed the head Marratta family in the Konkan, and the adjacent parts of the Dekkan, to be also of Solankhi (Chálukya) extraction: were this supported by any tradition—which I believe, from my own intercourse with the family, it is not—we should have the curious fact established, of a remnant of the South Chálukyan dynasty still governing a considerable part of the Konkan on the first establishment of the Mussulman power, south of the Narbadda, and which petty state the invaders found it very difficult to overcome. Ferishta gives a detailed account of the difficulties and losses they suffered; and the kings of Bijápura appear to have conciliated the family by grants of villages and privileges, which they still continue, to a certain extent, to enjoy.

Though these families have lost many of the distinctive marks of the Rájput tribes of the north, from which they would appear to have sprung; still they preserve, besides the name, some traits of their origin.

They all wear the thread of the Kshatriya; they never intermarry with other tribes, such as Kúnbís, &c.; and they have all a tradition of their Rájput extraction, and of their having emigrated from the north to the Dekkan.

May it not be inferred, that, at some very remote period, perhaps, that of the Pándavas, the country south of the Narmada, may have been conquered by a powerful prince from the north, and that the Rajput families were then settled in the country.

There are many circumstances that will lead the intelligent observer to conjecture, with Colonel Sykes, that there was a time when a different race ruled the Dekkan, and a different religion prevailed there; from my own observations, and especially from the ancient characters of the caves, resembling those of the south, I should be apt to have recourse to Ceylon, or to the south-east of India, for the seat of such former government.

Or we may, perhaps, even venture to suppose, that the romance of the Rámáyana is founded on some such state of things, and, that Rávana was a powerful sovereign, to whose sway the whole of the country south of the Vindhya range was obedient, and that his people were stigmatized by their northern conquerors, as Rákshásas, merely from differing in origin, and perhaps in religion, from themselves.

In order to show the changes which have taken place in the character of the Kanara type, an alphabet, with the corresponding

Devánagari letters, is annexed, as well as the Sanskrit version of the inscriptions.

Since this was written, my Pandit Vishnu Shástrí has succeeded in deciphering one of the large marble tablets brought by Captain T. B. Jervis, from an old Jain temple at Belgám, and which is entitled a Jina Sásana, or Jain Grant, and appears to have been made by a king of the Ráshtra-kúta dynasty, in Saka 1121, being 175 years subsequent to the grant of Jyasinha III. of this dynasty.

The characters of this inscription differ also very much from any of the Kanara type I have hitherto seen, but I trust this difficulty will be overcome by the ingenuity of my Pandit, who is the same person who aided me so greatly in deciphering the Vallabhi plates found at Bhavanagar, and Danduka in Gujarát.

It is proper to mention that Captain Jervis, previous to his proceeding to England, allowed me to examine the plates from which the translation No. 1 has been made; and as, from the intricacy of the characters, it was next to impossible that they could be deciphered there, I had the Sanskrit version made, which is now presented to the Society.

W. H. Wathen.

FAC-SIMILE OF THE CHARACTERS IN WHICH THE INSCRIPTION IS WRITTEN.

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Copper-plate Inscription found in the Násik District, by L. R. Reid, Esq., and translated by that Gentleman. Dated Saca 730 (A. D. 808).

1. May (Vishnu), whose lotus-navel Brahma has made his seat, preserve you! May Siva, whose head is adorned by Gangá, and a portion of the moon, keep you!!

2. On this earth lived a king, named Krishna Rája, who protected the quarters of the world by the spreading rays of his prosperity, shining on his mighty breast as the gem Kaustubhá, endowed with truth, of an excellent disposition, who with his powerful army vanquished the multitude of his foes.

3. From the race of Chálukya, unconquered by its enemies, resplendent in the race of all the great kings who sought its protection through fear of the destruction of their dependants, he, the beloved, the refuge of the multitude of venerable Pandits, received wealth as Vishnu received Lakshmí from the sea, through the means of the mountain Mandara.

4. This prince had a son named Paura, who, by his extended power, conquered the regions of the globe, being like the sun, gladdening the surface of the earth by his mild government—whose magnanimity was abundant—who destroyed the beauty of the lotus-faced wives of his enemies—whose fame is constantly held suspended as a garland by the female guardians of the points of the compass.

5. He being provided with Lakshmí, who is pure—though the younger sister of Alakshmí—espoused the pure condition of the earth, at a sight of whose gifts, excelling those of others, the receivers of the established gifts fixed by Kárna Raja and other princes, remained ashamed, like the elephants of the points at the ends of the earth.

6. Moreover, fearing a personal contest with him, even Kali, his enemy upon earth, rushed into the stream of the unrivalled Gangá, excellent as proceeding from the mundane egg, the essence of vast power, piercing the earth.

7. Moreover, he (Paura) having provided an irresistible army, suddenly entered the difficult country Marú (Márwár), and having conquered Watsa Rája, intoxicated with the wealth of the king of Gaur*, which he had seized, took from him not only the two Chatras

* Bengal.

pleasing to Parvati, and white as the moonbeams of the sultry season, but also, at the same time, his renown, which was fixed in the various quarters of the universe.

8. He unrivalled, quickly removed to afar, Kali, who had acquired great renown; and having established good conduct on the earth, again made the remnant of the Kali like the prosperity of the Kritayuga, and became its supporter.

9. From him, the firm and unrivalled, proceeded a son, Govinda Rája, like the clear moon with ambrosial beams, lovely as Lakshmí produced from the sea—of a beautiful stature, glorious, rising constantly (to fame) as the sun rises daily from the lofty eastern hills—respected by good men.

10. He, the abode of all excellent qualities, having become the lord of the earth, the family of Krishna Rája became invincible to their enemies, as the family of Yadu, in the time of the enemy Madhu (Krishna); he, Govinda Rája, by his severity, dispersed and again reduced to poverty his rebellious enemies ornamented with necklaces of pearls.

11. "Oh, Father, you have delivered to me the sceptre—may it remain uninjured; I, in my ignorance, have accepted it." He (Govinda Rája) spoke these becoming words to his father, who, having gone to decorate Paradise, his fame merely remaining; he, even alone, by his vast power, (subdued) the twelve encirclers of the earth, who were prepared against him, as the suns at the general deluge.

12. He, the very merciful Govinda Rája, after releasing Gangá Rája from the pains of imprisonment, protected him and reinstated him in his government; but Gangá Rája remained determined in his enmity; and Vikshepa, before he had seen Govinda Rája's eyebrows elevated in his forehead, (through anger,) subdued him, and again placed him in confinement (?)

13. The king of Malwa, skilled in the rules of government, observing from afar that his power depended on prostration at the feet of Govinda Rája, for that reason joined his hands and became submissive. What wise man with a small force will contend with the powerful? The reward of policy is in the consideration of the comparative strength of one's self and one's adversary.

14. The Prince Márásarva, never before conquered by his enemies, learning from his spies that the king's army had encamped below the Vindhyá mountains, considered him as already within his dominions, and being terrified, went quickly to conciliate him by the delivery of his hereditary wealth, and by his submission.

15. Having spent the rainy season, when the sky is covered with massy clouds at Sri Bhuvana*, he advanced with his army to the banks of the Tungabhadra. He whose foes are submissive took again the wealth, with even the buried treasure of the Pallavi princes (?) though before subjected to him!

He (Govinda Rája) observing this life to be unsteady as wind and lightning, and without relish, betowed upon Brahmans the most excellent of gifts—that of land. He, the prosperous Prabhúta-Varshadeva—sovereign among kings and mighty princes—the worshipper of the feet of the prosperous Dhára Varshadeva—sovereign among kings and mighty princes; he, the skilful Govinda Rájadeva, beloved of the earth, orders all persons appointed in their several situations,—Ráshtrapatís (Deshmookhs); Víshyapatis (district officers); heads of villages; dependent and self-constituted chiefs; Adhikáris (officers); and heads of castes, (as follows): Be it thus known to you—I, residing at the village Mayúrkhindí, having performed my ablutions on this day, the day of the full moon of the light half of Vaisakha, it being the great festival of the moon's eclipse, in the year Vyaya, the 730th year of the time past of the king of the Saca, for the increase of virtue and glory, of myself and my parents, in both worlds, have given, for the performance of the five great sacrifices of Balí, Charu, Vaiswadeva, Agnihotra, and Atithí, with a libation of water, to Dámodar, Chaturvedi Bhatta, skilled in the four Vedas, respected by the great, of the village of Veshan, son of Damodara Dúvedí, son of Vishnu Bhatta of the Bháradwaji Gotra, of the Taitiriya Shákha—the village of Ambikagráma (Ambegaon), of the Van division of the Nasika district; the boundaries of it are, on the east, the village of Warnur; on the south, Warikhera (Warkher); on the west, Pallitwár; and on the north, the river Vúlinda (Unmad), and the village of Padanuvál, within these four boundaries, with the produce of the hills, with all it may contain, with the fines and customary mulcts, with the ordinary dues, with the usual service (of the trades), with the produce of the grain and metals (gold), exclusive of the shares of the mighty warriors and officers of government, to be enjoyed from generation to generation as long as the moon, the sun, the earth, the rivers, and the mountains endure; with all (that land) not formerly granted to gods and Brahmans, whose owner is not known, or which may fall in by escheats; so, according to the suitable rules observed in gifts to Brahmans, let no one hinder in the least him who eats, him who gives food, the cultivator, or him who makes the husbandman to cultivate,

* Said to be a place called Cowldurga, in Mysore, south of the river.

or the giver of gifts: thus, let succeeding prosperous princes of my race, or of any other family receiving in common with me the reward of granting away land, and considering that dominion is fickle and transient as lightning, and life is unsteady as a small drop of water on the point of a blade of grass, consider this my gift as one made by themselves, and maintain it. If any one, having his understanding enveloped in the darkness of ignorance, destroy it, or encourage its destroyer, he shall be guilty of the five great sins, and the lesser sins. Thus the holy Veda Vyása has said in detail.

The remainder of the inscriptions contains the customary quotations from the Mahábhárata, which occur in almost every grant of the kind.

Note 1.

This inscription was, I believe, found in the Wana-dindorí district, near Násika, in the Marhátta country; it is engraved in characters evidently derived from the type of the Vallabhí plates, but nearer approaching to the Devánagarí.

This grant appears to have been made by princes of the Chálukya race, but of quite a different family from the dynasty of the great Jayasinha, Vallabha, Pulakesí, &c. Its date is 216 years anterior to the latest of those grants by Jayasinha III., making this Govinda Rája Chálukya about contemporary with Taila Bhúpatí, Bhima, &c., of that dynasty (allowing about twenty years to a reign); and it will be observed, that the grant referred to alludes to misfortunes which had befallen the kingdom of those princes.

It is not unlikely that the prince now treated of, was a usurper, and that the country was recovered from him by Apánárya, the sixteenth of Jayasinha's dynasty.

W. H. Wathen.

Note 2.

There seems reason to believe that the princes named in this inscription are not of the Chálukya family, but of that of their enemies, the princes of Ráshtrá kút'a, who invaded, and for a time subdued, the territories of the Chálukyas as far as to the Tungabhadra. Thus the third verse, instead of the rendering of the text,

may be translated, "He (Krishna Rájá) speedily and easily *took away* Lakshmí or regal power FROM the Chálukya race, as the mountain Mandara extracted her from the ocean. Again, in the tenth verse, the translation might be, "He (Govinda Rája), the king of the earth, being born in the Ráshtra kúta race," &c.; but there is something inaccurate apparently in the original, and a nominative is wanted for the close of the first hemistich, " was invincible by enemies," which would be easily supplied by taking Ráshtra kútánvayo, instead of Ráshtra kútánvayè, and it would then run, He, he king of the earth, being born, the Ráshtra-kúta race, like that of Yádava on Krishna's birth, was invincible by enemies. By understanding the passage in this manner, the inscription, instead of being incompatible in some degree with the series of the Chálukya kings, is perfectly consistent with it, and confirms in a remarkable manner that part of their history which records, about this period, some temporary diminution of their power.—W. H. W.

Article XXIV.

PERSIAN NEWSPAPER AND TRANSLATION.

The following transcript of a Persian Newspaper, lithographed and printed at Tehran, is given as a specimen of the political advancement of the Persians, among whom a printing press is but of very recent introduction. The newspaper was undertaken a few years since, under the editorship of Mirza Salih, one of the public secretaries of H. M. the Shah of Persia, who has been employed on a diplomatic mission in this country. The original is lithographed on two large folios, printed on one side only; it is closely written in a plain hand, and is surmounted by the Persian emblem of the Lion and Sun.

The transcript is a faithful copy of the original, containing the same vowel points and orthographical marks, without any addition whatever; as it is the object of the publication to show not only what matters are thought likely to engage the attention of the public in Persia, but also to give a specimen of the language and orthography in use among ordinarily educated persons.

The English version is not a verbal translation, but it is hoped that it affords a fair idea of the spirit of the original. Some flowery epithets and useless repetitions are omitted, but nothing has been left out which could in any way affect the meaning.

اخبار و وقایع شهر محرم الحرام ۱۲۵۳ ☼

در دار الخلافة طهران انطباع یافته ☼

اخبار ممالک شرقیه ☼

دار الخلافة طهران * عالیجاه مقرب الخاقان خداداد خان از سفارت اسلامبول معاودت نمود نامه از اعلیحضرت سلطان محمود بحضور اعلیحضرت شاهنشاهي آورد از آنجا که سفارت مشار الیه مستحسن راي جهان آراي شهریاري افتاد بعد از تبلیغ نامه و عرض مراتب ماموریت خود خاطر مبارك ازو خرسند کردید و پایه اعتبار عالیجاه مشار الیه باعلي مدارج رسید و اورا بوزارت خوي مفتخر و سرافراز فرمودند بنهجي که شاید و باید با ولایات سرحدیه دولتین علیتین سعي و جد و جهد بلیغ نماید که روز بروز این دوستي و یکجهتي تزاید پذیرد و رشته اتحاد محکم گردد و امریکه مورث نقار خاطر و غبار کدورت ضمیر اولیاي دولتین است رفع سازد ☼

ایضاً * جناب جلالت مآب شریعت آداب آقا میر محمد مهدي امام جمعه و جماعت دار السلطنه اسفهان بدار الخلافه آمدند و با جمعي کثیر از علما که درخدمتش بودند بحضور باهر النور شاهنشاه عدالت سیر مشرف کشتند و الحق شخص وجودش از جمیع نقایص و ذمایم پیراسته و بمحاسن اخلاق آراسته و بسبب عدم ریاء و تزویر و بیساختکي و نجابت ذاتي و فتانت فطري و کمال انسانیت معزي الیه خاطر مبارك شاهنشاهي خرسند کردید امرا و بزرکان درکاه و سران و پیشکاران بارکاه با سایر چاکران حضرت دولت علیه و تمامي اهل دار الخلافه بجنابش دست ارادت دادند دولتخواه و خیراندیش

پادشـــاه اسلام پناه و کافهء بندکان خدا از روز درود آناً فآناً مراحم
و مکارم شاهانه در بارهء آنجناب و همراهانش در تزاید بود هر روزی
التفاتي جداکانه و رافتي تازه میدیدند تا روزیکه بجهته استرخاص
با علما و فضلا بانجمن حضور خسرو عادل دریا دل شرفیاب آمدند
پس از تکریم و اظهار التفات بلا نهایات فرمودند که آنجناب و سایر
فضلا متمنیات و مقاصد و مستدعیات خودرا بمعرض شهود در آورند
شریعت نصاب عرض کرد که چون شاهنشاه دین پناه بتقویت شرع
محمدي جاهدند بر هریك از پاسداران شریعت غرّا واجبست
که در راه دین از جان و مال بکذرند استدعاي دولتخواه این است
که تمامي املاک و اموال خودرا صرف لشکر اسلام نمایم سایه خدا
قبله عالم خلّد الله ملکه و ابّد ایّام دولته که معمورهٔ جهان در نظر
همّت آفتاب آثار شان بهاي رباطي مخروبه ندارد و مرکز خاك بکفي
خـــاکستر نیرزد زیـــاده از حد و حصر بر اکرام و احترام آنجناب
افزودند بعلاوهء انعامات وافره و تشریفات فاخره مبلغ سه هزار تومان
برسم وظایف و مستمري با دو متعلقانش زیاده بر مرسومات سابقه
مرحمت فرمودند و مبلغ شصت هزار تومان نیز از اصل مالیات
دیواني برعایاي اصفهان تخفیف غایت رفت و اینکونه رافت و تخفیف
نه تخصیص باصفهان دارد بلکه بهمه ممالك ایران خاصه آذربایجان
و خراسان و عراق وفارس و سایر ولایات تخفیفات بیکران مکرمت
شد این صفحهء روز نامه کنجایش بیان تفصیل عطیّه ملوکانه
و کذشت شاهانه آن آسمان مکارم را ندارد اکر خواهند مقدار عفو
و احسان شاهنشاه معدلت بیانرا بدانند که نسبت بتمامي اهالي
ممالک محروسه چه مرحمتها مبذول افتاده رجوع بکتابچهء هرولایت
نموده تـــا حقیقت تخفیفـــات ظـــاهـــر و هـــویـــدا کردد ۞

ایضاً * چون بهر یک از عظماٴ و امرا و فدویان دولتخواه و حکّام ولایات که از شرف حضور خاقانی دور بودند خلعتی مرحمت شد از آنجمله یك دست خلعت از جامه خانهٴ خاص خسروی بافتخار جناب مجدت و نجدت نصاب معتمد الدولة العلیهٴ العالیه مبذول افتاد و بسبب خدمات معظمه و جان نثاریها که از معظّم الیه بظهور رسید خاطر حق شناس سلطانی هر روزی بالتفاتی جدید پایه اعتماد و مایه اعتبارش را برتری دادند بر همکی دولتخواهان شوکت قاهره آشکار است که بعد از قضیه خاقان مغفور اول کسی که از چاکران قدیم بقدم جان نثاری بیش آمد و بمعسکر انجم حشر خسرو اسمان سریر ملحق کردید آنجناب بود که جان و مالرا در رکاب ظفر انتساب شاهنشاهی از خاره و خاك خوارتر کرفت و در دعوی چاکری بر فدوی بندکان بیشینه سبقت جست و یکقسط مالیات کیلانرا بانضمان پیشکشهای لایق بخاکپای شاهنشاهی حاضر آورد پس از نزول موکب اجلال بدار الخلافه مامور بمملکت فارس و تنبیه سرکشان عرض راه آمد جمعی از سواره و پیاده اهل نظامرا بهمراهی معزی الیه روانه فرمودند هر جا قلعه دید بآسانی بکشاد و اکر سرکشی بود بسختی بر بست دریکی از منازل حسنعلی میرزارا با کروهی متفرقه پراکنده و منهزم ساخت و تا قلعه شیراز قومی از اشرار نکذاشت و در حین ورود بدون مکث و درنک به نیروی طالع بیزوال شاهنشاهی داخل قلعه شیراز شده بحکم ماموریّت که نه خارج از رسوم ادب باشد حسینعلی میرزا و حسنعلی میرزارا بی مجادله و کیرودار کرفتار با قراول بدار الخلافه فرستاد و بعد بنظم مهمات ملکی پرداخت و هر کجا قلعه صعبی بود مانند قلعه باشد قلعه سفید و قلعه

سرآسیا و قلعه کل و قلعه کلاب و قلعه ده مروه بتدابیر صایبه
تسخیر و طاغیان دور و نزدیکرا دستکیر وایخان ممسني و باقر
خان پسرشرا مخذولاً و منکوباً با غل و زنجیر بدار الخلافه
روانه نمود و از محاسن خدمت و صدق ارادت معزي علیه
خاطر مبارك سلطاني خرسند کشت و الحق بجاست ۞
ایضاً * نوزدهم شهر محرم روز تولّد پادشاه انکلیس بوده جناب
وزیر مختار دولت علیه انکلیس جشني ملوکانه ترتیب داده
وزیر مختار دولت علیه روسیه و امرا و سرکردکان و صاحب
منصبان روسیه و جناب وزیر دول خارجه میرزا مسعود و جمعي
کثیر از اعزه و اشراف و بزرکان و چاکران درکاه شاهنشاهيرا
دعوت نموده خانه بزرک سفارت شوکت انکلیس را چراغان نمودند
باغچهٔ این خانه بغایت با صفا مشحون بکلها و لالهها الوان
و اشجار دلکش است هزاران فانوس و قنادیل بلور و مشاعل
و شمعدان نقره و طلا باطراف ایوان و رواق و طاقها و باغچهها
و دیوارها آویخته و افروخته که شب رشك روز آمد شبیه مبارك
شاهنشاه اسلام پناهرا در پردهٔ نقش نموده در بالاي طاق اوطاق
و چندین قندیل و شمع باطراف تصویر همایون ترتیب داده
و شبیه پادشاه انکلیسرا نیز در پرده دیکر مقابل شبیه مبارك
نصب نموده و قندیلها آویخته و آتشبازیي عظیمي بر پا ساخته
که دیده روشنان خیره آمد و چهرهٔ مهر تفته و تیره الحق مجلسي
ملوکانه و میزمبیر مجلس بزرکانه بود که قریب چهل نفر د
بالاي میز شام خوردند و انواع سازها و اسباب طرب بعلاوه یك
بند موسیقي متعلّق بفوج بهادران بنواختن سازهاي غریبه مشغول
بودند که نعمتي غیر مترقّبه اتفاق افتاده عالیحضرت میرزا لطفعلي

پیشخدمت خاصه سلطاني بتهنیه وارد و بوزیر مختـــار اعلام نمود
که اعلیحضرت ظلّ اللهي بجهتي فخر و سرافرازي وزیر مختار یك
قطعه تصویر خود بشبیه نظر که با چندین قطعه المـــاس و جواهر
گرانبهـــا مرفع و مکلّل شده بود آویزه کردن اعتبـــار مرحمت
فرمودند معزي الیه از استماع اینگونه التفات و مرحمت شاهاني
باستقبال تصویر مبارك تا بیرون عمارت شتافته حضّار مجلس
کلًّا و طراً با معزي الیه همراهي نمودند و مبارکباد و تهنیه گفتند
و این موهبت عظمي مزید بر عشرت و شادیها آمد و تا هشت
ساعت از شب گذشته چنـــانکه از بیـــان آن عاجز است
مـشـغـولـ عـیـش و عـــشـــرت بـــودنـــد ۞

اخْبارْ مَمَالکْ غَرْبیّه *

مَمْلکَتْ اِیتَالیَا* از شهر ناپل شخصي مراسلهء بدوستي نوشته بود
ترجمه اش این است که پنجساعت از شب گذشته در شهر
شوال سقف بارگاه مشتعل گردید که باندک وقت کتابخانه
سلطنت که سالها از هر نسخه و بهترین کتابها بهر زبان وانواع
لغات جمع کرده بودند و تصویر خانهء بزرگ سلطنت نیز که
بهترین تصاویر استادان هر مملکت در آنجا فراهم آمده با سایر
اشیاٴ نفیسه که قدیما درین دو خانهء بزرگ بمرور دهور جمع
شده بود در نیمساعت هر دو تل خاکستر شد و بسمت خوابگاه
رسیده مادر پادشاه بقدري فرصت نمود که جاني بسلامت بدر برد
ولیکن نواب شاهزاده سیراکوس در خواب بود منزل خوابگاه اورا
چندان دود پر کرده بود که شاهزاده‌را با جامهء خواب بیخود و
بیهوش بیرون کشیدند و نایرهٔ شعله بحدّي در التهاب آمد که
بیم سوختن تماشاخانه بود براي دفع این بلا دیواري ده زرع طول

و دو زرع و نیم عرض و دوازده زرع ارتفاع بفاصلهء سه ساعت
ساختند و نگذاشتند بتماشاخانه آتش رسد در این یک روز و دو
شب که خلق مشغول انتفای آتش مزبور بودند جمعی از دزدان
کیسه‌بر در اوطاقها و سایر اماکن بسرقت اموال مردمان فرصت
نمودند و جمعی نیز در اینخانه آمده گرم دزدی اموال نفیسه
شدند چند نفر از آنهارا گرفته روانه محبس نمودند و هنوز
معلوم نشده که آتش افروز که بوده و از چه افروخته ☼

ینگی دنیا* در شهر نیویارك باین مضمون مراسلهء نوشته‌اند که
در اینسال کشتی بخار تازهء اختراع کرده اند که در چرخ مزبور دو
چرخ بخار بکار انداخته که هر چرخی در یکدقیقه سی و پنج‌مرتبه
بدور محور خود میکردد که مدّت یکساعت بیست میل
که قریب شش فرسخ باشد سفر میکند و در نوروز گذشته
کشتی مزبوررا بآب انداخته اند تجّار و ارباب معامله بواسطهء
اینگونه طی مسافت و سرعت حمل و نقل بغایت مشغوف و
ممنونند قبل ازین یکماه از نیو یارک الی لندن کشتی میرفت و
حال مدّت دوازده روز بدون اختلاف همان قدر راه طی میکند
و نیز بهر طرف این کشتی بکار برده‌اند ☼

انکلند* کشتی جنگی بزرگی‌را که شصت و هشت توپ داشته
چرخ بخاری‌را هم باو ضم کرده‌اند و اسم آن کشتی‌را آتلنتا نهاده‌اند
در این اوقات کشتی مزبور به بنمبایی رسیده از انکلند الی بنمبایی
شصت و چهار روز راه بوده چه عموماً کمتر از ششماه هیچ کشتی این
مسافت‌را طی نکرده از انکلند الی برن امیدی که آخر ملک مغرب
و سالهاست برای راحت نمودن و آب دادن کشتیانیکه بهند
میروند و مراجعت میکنند در آنجا جمعی کثیر از انکلیستان

توطن مينمايند واين كشتي جنكي بخار در برن اميدي هم يكروز توقّف كرده و آب و سوخت براي كشتي برداشته عازم هندوستان كرديد چندين كشتي ديكر هم باين بزركي و پر مصرفي خواهند ساخت ۞ چون بيست و پنجسال است ميرزا سيد علي شيرازي كتاب انجيلرا باهنري مارتن ترجمه كرده بود و چيزي هم نخواسته اجزاء مجلس انجيل كه جمعي كثيرند و هميشه در انتشار دين مسيحي ميباشند و مبالغ كلّي در اين راه صرف ميكنند عاليجاه سرجان كمبل ايلچي سابق انكليس بعد از مراجعت از ايران مراتب را باجزاء مجلس انجيل اظهار نموده بود و علي العجاله دويست تومان برسم تعارف بجهت ميرزا سيد علي فرستاده‌اند وخواهشمند شده‌اند كه خود ايشان شرحي نويسند كه در اداء اين زحمت چه بايشان رسيده محتمل چيزي ديكر هم بفرستند ۞ اسلامبول* عاليجاه اسعد افندي كه مدتهاست مباشر كاغذ اخبار است باسم سفير شوكت عثمانيه با جمعي از صاحب منصبان محض براي تهنيت جلوس اعليحضرت قدر قدرت شاهنشاه ممالك ايران رفته بود در شهر رمضان وارد باسلامبول شده اكرچه رشتهء دوستي و يكجهتي ميانهء دولتين عليّتين سالهاست كمال استحكامرا دارد ولي بسبب قابليّت و استعداد مشار اليه و كثرت فهم و كياست و طريقه و رويه سفارت و آداب داني او مزيد استحكام دوستي و يكجهتي ميانه اين دو دولت شده چرا كه اين دو دولت در ملاحظهء منافع دولتي و رموز نكات دولتداري بيك راي و اراده ميباشند و در مذهب و ملّت نيز بيكطريقه و آيين مستقيم اند بعد از انكه اسعد افندي ابلاغ سفارت خودرا بوجهي احسن از عهده بر آمد و پايه اعتبارش بلندي يافت مجدّداً بخدمت سابقه خويش مامور و مشغول كشت ۞ ايضاً* اعليحضرت سلطان حكم صريح فرموده بودند كه روزيكه

پل بسته شد و راه عبور خلق کشوده از متردّدین و مسافرین مطلقا
چیزي مطالبه نکنند و اینمعني بر همه مردم ظاهر است که سابق بر
آن چندین هزار مرد و زن و دواب بزحمت و خوف و خسارت
و بیم هلاکت از رود بواسطهء لتکه عبور میکردند و مبلغي خطیر
خرج مینمودند با وجود این سختیها عبور از آب خالي از کزند نبود
اعلیحضرت سلطان محمود محض ترحم و رافت و رفاه تجار و
رعیّت و منافع مسافرین عالم بقاي و نام نیك و شهرت بعمل
خیر مبلغي خطیر بمصرف ساختن پل رسانیدند پس از چندي
رشید نامي ببهانه اینکه پول چراغ و روشنایي پلرا از متردّدین و
دواب بارکش بکیرند جمعي نیز در این تعدي با او هم دستان
آمدند خیراندیشان خلق و دولتخواهان سلطنت سلطانرا
آکاهي دادند نایره غضب سلطان ملتهب کردید رشیدرا بلد نمود
در قریه استنکوي فرستاد و اشخاصي که با او یار و ممدّ بودند
بجّمع عام بکار بیکار کل بداشتند تا تنبیه شوند ✡
ایضاً * روزي اعلیحضرت سلطان محمود سواره ازین پل میکذشت
درویش هرزه کرد بیهوده کوي ژولیده موي بیسروپاي سروپا برهنه
کثیف الجلد سیّء الخُلق موذي اللّسان بي ادب زندقه مذهب
که در صورت و سیرت مانند دیو و مشابه مسوخات بود بر رهکذار
سلطان ایستاده نظر سلطان بر هیکلي غریب و صورتي عجیب افتاد
قدمي چند پیش رفت و درنهایت خشونت و بي ادبي نسبت بسلطان
ناسزا کفته که دین اسلامرا برباد دادي اعلیحضرت سلطان از عظمت
شان جوابي نداده کذشتند ساعتي نکذشته بود که سر پر موي
درویش دیوانه مانند خارپشت مختلف اللّون از بدن جدا
افتاده وبدن خبیثش چون مردار مردادي مغزرا پراکنده نموده
جمعي از یاران او شهرت دادند که بدن درویشرا نوري احاطه

کرده و بتلاوت قران و دعا مشغول بوده با اینکه درویش مزبور
در حیات بسلک بهایم بوده چگونه میشود که در ممات مظهر کرامات
گردد و ادراک تکلّم با سلطان اولو العزم را نداشته باشد ولی خلق
در آشکار و نهان کلمات شکایت آمیز میگفتند که سلطان ملاحظهء
مذهب و دین را نمی نمایند چون سلطان ازین معنی آگاه شد
حکم فرمود که بعد ازین هر مسلمانی که بوقت معیّن بنماز
ظهر و عصر بمسجد حاضر نشود و یا دقیقهء از دقایق شریعت‌را
ترک کند به تنبیه و تادیب و سیاست رسد بنابران الحال در
کوچه و برزن مردمرا جبراً بمسجد میفرستند و هر که تهاون
ورزد بحدّ شرعی گرفتار آید و باینواسطه همهء خلق پرهیزکار و
مؤمن شده و بعبادت عادت کرده اند ❁

ایضاً * تولّد سلطان محمود در روز چهاردهم شهر رمضان المبارک
۱۱۹۹ بوده عیدی بزرگ و جشنی عظیم در اسلامبول چیدند و
اسباب عیش و عشرت بجهت سپاهی و رعیّت آماده کردند و کمال
شادی و شعف از ناصیهء احوال هر ذی حیاتی ظاهر و هویدا بوده
چراکه سلطانی رؤف و خیر خواه و عادل و دوربین و با شعور است
شکر خدارا باین عطیّهٔ عظمی بجا آوردند و آنی رفاه خلایق‌را از نظر
محو نکرده چه بناها که برای استراحت رعایا ازین وجود بزرگ به
بنیان آمد و چه منافع و فیوضات بدولت و جزاء دولت رسیده
و اهل شهر از غریب و بومی درین عید و جشن شکر گذار بوده
همگی شادان و دل خوش در عیش و طرب شریک بودند چراغان
شب طرفه چراغانی بوده در سرای همایون و تاب تاپو و جای
بیگلربیگی و خانه شیخ الاسلام و خانه سرعسکر پاشا
و خانه سایر نوکران چراغان کردند ❁

News of Occurrences during the Month Muharam, 1253,

(*7th April to 6th May*, 1837.)

PRINTED IN THE CAPITAL, TEHRAN.

News of the Kingdoms of the East.—Tehran.—That exalted nobleman, Khoda Dad Khan, has returned from his mission at Constantinople, and has brought a letter from his Majesty Sultan Mahmud, to the Shahanshah. The conduct of the ambassador during his mission having afforded full satisfaction, his Excellency has received an increase of rank, and has been appointed to the Viziership of Khoi. He is required in this office to exert himself strenuously in strengthening the bonds of friendship between the two kingdoms (Persia and Turkey).

The pious and venerable Agha Mir Mahomed Mahdi, Imam of Ispahan, has arrived at the capital, accompanied by a number of learned men who attend him, and has been honoured by an audience of the Shahanshah. In truth, the mind of his Reverence is adorned by every grace and virtue and by an amiable disposition. The absence of hypocrisy and deceit—the nobleness of his nature—the excellence of his understanding—and his extreme urbanity, have given great satisfaction to his Majesty. The nobles of the court, the great officers of state, and the whole of the inhabitants of the capital, have paid his Reverence the utmost attention. The well-wishers of this government, and of his Majesty the Protector of Islam, with the entire of the servants of God, have, from the day of his arrival, increased the manifestations of their respect and consideration for his Reverence and his companions, who daily received fresh favours and kindness from his Majesty until the time of their departure, when the Imam, with his learned and holy companions, was again admitted to court. On this occasion his Majesty commanded that his Reverence and the rest of the holy and learned men with him, should express their wishes and desires. His Reverence represented, that as the King of Kings, the Protector of Islam, is strenuous in the defence and promotion of the faith, it is incumbent on every well-wisher of the state religion to be prepared for its sake to sacrifice both life and property; and that his own desire, as a firm

adherent of the state, was to devote the whole of his goods to support the armies of Islam. The asylum of the world augmented the marks of his favour towards his Reverence; and, in addition to various presents with which he had been honoured, his Majesty conferred on him the sum of three thousand tomans (1500*l.* sterling), as a pension to himself and his connexions, in addition to his former salary; besides which, the sum of sixty thousand tomans (30,000*l.* sterling) has been relinquished from the government taxes paid by the Ryots of Ispahan. The clemency which has been thus displayed towards the city of Ispahan, and the remission which has been made in the revenue there, have been extended in a great degree all over Persia, particularly in Azurbaijan, Khorassan, Irak, and Fars. The pages of a newspaper are unable to contain the details of the royal bounties, the princely munificence, and heavenly virtues of his Majesty. Whoever wishes to know the extent of the benevolence and grace of the King of Kings, the origin of equity, towards the whole of the people of this heaven-protected kingdom, must examine the records of each province wherein the remissions are faithfully recorded.

Each of the nobles, chiefs, faithful servants, and governors of provinces remote from the royal presence, having been honoured with a court-dress from the royal wardrobe, his Excellency Moatemid ud Dowlah received a special dress of honour on this occasion, as a particular mark of favour. His Majesty evinces towards him daily testimonies of his confidence, and has elevated his Excellency into a more exalted position about the royal person. It is well known to the faithful officers of this state, that after the demise of his late Majesty, the first person who, among the old servants of the kingdom, stepped forward with the offer of his life, and joined the royal camp of his present Majesty, was his Excellency Moatemid ud Dowlah, and that he pre-eminently excelled the former faithful officers of his Majesty in the performance of important service. In the first place he laid at the foot of the throne a portion of the revenue of Gilan, in advance, and, in addition, suitable offerings. After the arrival of the royal army at the capital, he was deputed to the province of Fars to punish the refractory, at the head of an army consisting of a body of cavalry and infantry. Wherever he encountered a fort he occupied it, and he inflicted due severity on the rebellious. At one of the stages of his march, he defeated and put to flight a body of troops under the Prince Hussein Ali Mirza, and he did not leave unvanquished a single rebel as far as the city of Shiraz.

After his arrival there, through the unvarying fortune of the Shahanshah, he entered that fortress; and without departing from the respect due to their station, and without strife or contention, he secured the persons of Hussein Ali Mirza and Hassan Ali Mirza, and sent them under a suitable escort to the capital. After this he applied himself to the arrangement of the affairs of the province. All the strong forts were occupied and maintained in a state of defence; by great address and by admirable arrangements, he obtained possession of the castles of Kelah Safid, Serasia, Gul, Kelab, and Deh Muruh, and secured the persons of all rebels far and near. He sent Wali Khan Mamaseni and his son Baker Khan bound in chains to the capital; and his Majesty derived the highest satisfaction from his eminent services and loyalty.

The 19th of this month, (23rd April, 1837,) being the birth-day of the King of England, his Excellency the minister plenipotentiary of that government gave a splendid entertainment on the occasion. The minister plenipotentiary of Russia, and the Russian chiefs and nobles, his Excellency the minister for foreign affairs, Mirza Massaud, with a numerous assemblage of the nobles, and chiefs, and principal servants of this state, were also invited. The palace of the English embassy was splendidly illuminated. The garden of the palace is filled with beautifully-variegated roses and tulips, and enchanting trees. Thousands of crystal lamps, besides gold and silver candelabras, were suspended in the porticos, saloons, galleries, and walls, making the night vie with the day. The portrait of his Majesty the Shahanshah, painted on canvass, was placed on the highest position in the palace, encompassed by innumerable lights; while that of his Majesty the King of England, painted on another piece of canvass, was placed opposite, being also surrounded by lamps. There was so brilliant an exhibition of fireworks, that the spectators were dazzled, and the sun, had it been day, would have been obscured. In truth, it was a princely and noble entertainment. Forty persons sat down to dinner. There was a great variety of music, besides the band of musicians of the Russian regiment, playing foreign airs, which afforded unexpected delight. Mirza Lutf Ali, one of the special servants of the king, arrived during the evening with congratulations from his Majesty the Shahanshah to the British minister, and informed him that his Majesty had honoured and exalted his Excellency by sending, for his acceptance, a miniature of his Majesty, set with jewels, to be worn on his Excellency's faithful breast. His Excellency, on receiving this gracious message, hastened, according

to custom, out of the palace to meet the bearer of the portrait, accompanied by the whole of the guests, who offered him their congratulations on the occasion. This extraordinary honour increased the festivity of the company, who enjoyed themselves until eight hours after nightfall, when the party broke up.

News of Foreign Countries.—Italy.—A person in Naples has written a letter to a friend of his, of which the following is a copy:—

Five hours after sun-set, in the month of Shawal, the ceiling of the palace was in flames, and in a short time the royal library, where for years the most valuable books and manuscripts, in every language, with a variety of dictionaries, had been deposited, was reduced to ashes. The same misfortune befel the large Royal picture gallery, where the best paintings of the masters of every country were collected; and all the valuable curiosities which, during the revolution of ages, had been brought together in these two edifices, were destroyed. The fire reached the royal sleeping apartments, and the mother of the king had scarcely time to effect her escape. His Royal Highness the prince of Syracuse was asleep, and his apartment was filled with smoke to such a degree, that the prince was taken out senseless in his sleeping clothes. The flames burned so fiercely, that there was apprehension of the destruction of the theatre. To avert this misfortune, a wall ten yards in length, two yards and a-half broad, and twelve yards in height, was built in the space of three hours, and, by this means, the flames were not suffered to reach the theatre. During the day and two nights that the people were employed in extinguishing the fire, the thieves made use of the opportunity to rob various dwellings, and some of them plundered valuable property in the above two buildings.

Some of these thieves were apprehended and sent to prison. It is not yet known who was the author of the fire, or how it was caused.

America.—A letter has been written from New York, stating that a new steam vessel had been invented to traverse the ocean, in which two wheels are employed, making thirty-five revolutions in a minute of time. The rate of travelling is estimated at twenty miles, or nearly six farsakhs, in the space of an hour. This vessel was launched last New Year's-Day. Merchants and persons connected with commerce, are much rejoiced at this increase of speed and promptness in the conveyance of merchandise. Previously to this,

a vessel required a month to proceed from London to New York, and now the same distance is traversed in twelve days without fail.

England.—A large steam ship-of-war, named "The Atalanta," and carrying sixty-eight guns*, has lately arrived at the port of Bombay. She has been sixty-four days on the voyage from London to Bombay, which distance no vessel has accomplished by the same route, under six months. At the Cape of Good Hope (which is the extreme end of Africa), ships outward and inward bound, stop for refreshments and for water; a considerable number of English people reside here. This steam ship-of-war remained one day at the Cape of Good Hope, and having procured water and fuel, proceeded to Hindustan. We hear that several other vessels of this description will be constructed.

It is now twenty-five years since Mirza Syed Ali, in conjunction with Henry Martin, translated the new Testament into Persian, without demanding any remuneration. The Bible Society, which is a large body, constantly employed in diffusing the religion of Jesus, on which object it expends large sums of money, having received from Sir J. Campbell, the late English envoy, on his return from Persia, an account of the state of the matter, has sent Mirza Syed Ali, for the present, a gift of 200 tomans (100*l.* sterling), and they have requested him to write and state what other recompense he has received for his trouble; and it is likely that they will send something more.

Constantinople.—Assad Effendi, who for a long time was superintendent of the government press, and who, under the title of Turkish Ambassador, had come to the kingdom of Persia, accompanied by a number of officers, for the special purpose of congratulating his Majesty the Shahanshah, on his accession to the throne, returned to Constantinople in the month of Ramadan. Although the friendship and alliance between these mighty states is of ancient date, and is firmly established, yet, in consequence of his talents, capacity, extraordinary sagacity, and diplomatic skill, the union between both kingdoms has been much augmented by this reception. The two governments are of one mind, and have but one view in politics, and with regard to religion, their sentiments are not dissimilar. After Assad Effendi had executed his mission in the

* The editor has been misinformed. There are on board "The Atalanta," only two guns, but they carry sixty-eight pound shot.

most satisfactory manner, he returned to assume his former duties at Constantinople.

His Majesty, the Sultan, gave strict orders on the day the bridge of boats was closed, and the new bridge opened for the use of the people, that nothing whatever should be taken from passengers and travellers. It is known to all men with what inconvenience and apprehension so many thousands of people and beasts of burden crossed the water on a latikeh (floating bridge), and how much money they spent, yet, notwithstanding these difficulties, it was accomplished, though the passage was not unattended with loss. His Majesty the Sultan, actuated by his benevolence towards merchants and ryots, and in order to ensure the convenience of travellers, expended a large sum in constructing the present bridge. A certain person named Reshid, commenced levying tolls, without authority, from the passengers and laded beasts, under the pretence of lighting the bridge, and many people were his accomplices in this oppression. Some friends of the people and well wishers of the Sultan's government, gave information of these proceedings to the Sultan, who caused Reshid to be banished from the city, to the village of Istankoi, and the persons who were his accomplices, have been condemned to hard labour.

One day Sultan Mahmud was passing this bridge with his retinue, when a petulant, naked, matted-haired, foul-tongued, impudent, impious, dervise, who was both in mind and body a demon, stood full in the Sultan's path. The eye of the Sultan fell on this strange figure. The dervise stepped forward some paces and began to speak with the highest disrespect of the Sultan, and accused him of subverting the faith of Islam. The Sultan, regardful of his dignity, made no remark at the time, but before an hour had elapsed, the hairy-head of the mad dervise, (which was like that of an ill-coloured porcupine,) was separated from his body. Some of his friends spread a report that a light encompassed the body of the dervise after the execution, and they employed themselves in prayers for him and in reading the Koran. This dervise, during his life, was like a beast: how then could he, at his death, become an object for miracles, when he had not the understanding to address the Sultan becomingly? yet the people, both publicly and privately, complain that the Sultan pays no regard to religion. When the Sultan became acquainted with this rumour, he issued an edict, requiring that every Muselman should, at the appointed time of

prayers in the evening and noon, appear at the mosque, and if any one neglected the slightest form of religion, the same should be punished. Accordingly, people are now forcibly sent to the mosques, and whoever is neglectful, is exposed to the penalties of the law. On this account the people have become abstemious and religious, and are restored to due obedience.

The birth of his Majesty Sultan Mahmud, took place on the 14th of the month of Ramadan, 1199, (July 20, 1785,) the anniversary of which was celebrated with extraordinary festivities at Constantinople, and recreations and amusements were prepared for the military and the people. The greatest joy was everywhere apparent, for the Sultan is clement, just, provident, and wise ; the people are grateful to God for granting them such a sovereign. He does not allow a moment to pass without endeavouring to promote the welfare of his subjects. What plans has his Majesty not laid for the prosperity of his people, and what benefits has he not conferred on the kingdom ? The inhabitants of the city, both strangers and residents, offered up their thanks for these festivities, and all persons participated in the joy which prevailed. There were illuminations at night at the Imperial Palace, the governor's residence, that of the Sheikh ul Islam, the Seraskier Pasha, and the houses of all His Majesty's servants.

Article XXV.

On the Cultivation of Cotton in India, by J. M. Heath, Esq.

(*Read January* 19, 1839.)

In the year 1818, the attention of the Madras Government was directed to the subject of the introduction of improved descriptions of agricultural produce into India. At that time I held the situation of Commercial Resident of Salem and Coimbatore, and instructions were sent to me by the Board of Trade, to attempt to introduce the cultivation of Bourbon cotton into those districts.

Being entirely unacquainted with the subject myself, I requested my friend Mr. J. M. Strachan, of the house of Arbuthnot and Co., to procure information for me upon the subject, from Mr. G. A. Hughes, of Tinnevelly, whom I knew to have been long engaged in the cultivation of Bourbon cotton.

In consequence of this application, I received the accompanying paper, drawn up by Mr. Hughes, and I have great pleasure in laying it before the Committee, as it appears to me to contain more information upon the cultivation of this valuable plant, than I have ever met with elsewhere.

In my endeavours to introduce the cultivation of Bourbon Cotton into a part of the country where it had never before been tried, I had to encounter the usual difficulties which attend on the introduction of any novelty in agriculture: but these difficulties gave way to perseverance, and at the end of four years, I had the satisfaction to see the experiment completely successful. In the season 1823-4, I procured from the district of Coimbatore, 500 bales of clean Bourbon cotton, of 300 lbs. each, and the natives were by that time so well satisfied that the cultivation of this article was more profitable to them than that of the indigenous species, that, I believe, had encouragement to the cultivation been continued, it would, by this time, have completely superseded that species of indigenous cotton which is cultivated in the light and gravelly soil so abundant in the South of India.

In the Madras territories, two varieties of the cotton plant are cultivated, and they require very different soils: one is an annual plant, called in Tamul, *Oopum Parutti;* the other is a perennial plant called *Nadum Parutti:* the first comes to perfection only in the

black adhesive soil, known by the name of cotton ground, and which appears to be formed from the decomposition of trap rocks: the other plant requires a very light loose soil, such as is formed from the disintegration of granitic rocks, and the soil appears more favourable for its growth when mixed with the calcareous tuffa, known in India by the name of *Kankar*.

It was in soil of this kind, which occurs abundantly in Coimbatore, that my experiments were made: I made an abridgment of Mr. Hughes's paper, and had it translated into Tamul; a copy of this was given to each farmer who agreed to make trial of the seed, and I had a person whose duty it was to go round and inspect the progress of the cultivation, and to make monthly reports to me upon it; at the proper season for pruning the plants, I went myself and showed how the operation should be performed, and I believe that the success of the experiment was, in a great measure, owing to this step. I have never observed that the process of pruning has been adopted by the natives in any branch of their husbandry; and I believe it is quite indispensable for the successful cultivation of the Bourbon cotton.

In the districts on the Coromandel coast, south of Madras, the light soil above described is more abundant than any other; and there is no doubt that the Bourbon cotton plant might be successfully cultivated wherever it occurs: the only point on which my experience differs from that of Mr. Hughes is, as to the influence of vicinity to the sea, upon the cultivation of this plant. He seems to think that situations near the sea are necessary to bring the plant to perfection; my experience goes to show that it will come to perfection at 150 miles from the sea.

At the time I commenced my experiments, the price of cotton (Oopum), was about 3*d.* per pound in the district; this was a high price comparatively, and had been caused by the unprecedented demand for cotton in 1818: the usual prices had ranged from 2*d.* to 2½*d.* To induce the farmers to make trial of the Bourbon seed, I offered them a price for their uncleaned cotton, which would have made the cost of clean cotton about 4½*d.* per pound; the value of the Bourbon cotton in the English market was fully 50 per cent. more than that of the country cotton; and in some instances where proper attention was given to the cleaning, the value of the Bourbon was more than double that of the country cotton.

Before I quitted India, in the year 1825, the situation of Commercial Resident of Salem and Coimbatore was abolished, and the Company discontinued their encouragement of the cultivation of

Bourbon cotton in that quarter. The natives not requiring so fine a material for their own use, and not finding a market for it, on the part of European merchants, discontinued the cultivation: and a great proportion of the land which I left under cultivation with Bourbon cotton, was cleared to make room for grain, or some produce which was more certain of a ready market. The subject was subsequently taken up by a gentleman who had the charge of my private concerns in India during my absence in England, and the provision of Bourbon cotton is, I believe, still continued by him, although I have no means at present of saying to what extent.

Paper by G. A. Hughes, Esq., *enclosed in the preceding.*

The plant is of so hardy a description that it may be safely believed it will grow well in any situation, yet to have it sufficiently productive, much attention must be given to soil as well as to culture. With this view, all very rich, heavy, retentive stiff soils, should never be selected; for although they produce luxuriant plants, yet they have much and more tendency to produce redundancy of wood and leaf than of produce, and almost always to the generating of insects. The red and brown loams, or, indeed, any silicious or calcareous soil, fertile in a moderate degree, are, upon the whole, in my idea, the most suitable and the most fruitful. What is commonly known to us under the denomination of cotton soil, the deep black vegetable loam, is, I think, to be entirely avoided. The Bourbon species has almost in all respects, a character different from the indigenous, and as far as my observation goes, demands a mode of treatment similar to that of America. In the point of climate, the vicinity of the sea, or situations to which the influence of the sea air extends, are, on every account, I believe, to be preferred. The vicinity of the Ghauts, or any situation near high mountains, on our Peninsula, should not possibly be chosen, because the climate near them is certainly likely to be less uniform in the hot months than this shrub requires; a dry soil and a dry atmosphere from March to May, and from July to September, seem almost essential to the good quality of the wool as well as to its productiveness.

Before touching upon the operation of pruning, which I practice twice in the year, and not once only, it might be as well to say something on the culture. I am now entirely convinced the plant will last a great number of years, and will not at all fall off if well and properly managed. The objection to this in other countries is said to be that it produces swarms of insects, but this, I suspect,

is the defect of treatment and of soil, rather than the age of the plant, since the youngest plantations are equally liable to this evil. Under the persuasion that it may be preserved with advantage many years, a systematic and careful culture from the very first must be the best. The seeds should be sown, or the young plants be set in straight rows, eight feet apart, and the rows also regularly eight feet asunder. Placing the little mounds of plants (containing two, or at most three each), at regular squares, in this mode, is of much advantage throughout. The facility for ploughing and hoeing is greater in this than in the common methods. The free admission of sun, the freest circulation of air and light winds, are of the greatest benefit to a perfect culture. This may be mentioned, because I know that too close a cultivation is a common mistake. By the last mode, the plantation may become a close low thicket so much infested by rats and snakes, as almost to be a work of danger to enter it. If the seed can luckily be got into the ground in September, the young plant may be sufficiently strong to resist the pernicious and continued wet of a heavy monsoon. Little is gained by sowing seed in October, November, and December, unless the land is very high, of a dry description, and clean from weeds, which, at this period, generally smother all other vegetation near them. The clear intervals of these months answer well of course for transplanting, and the first week of January, in general, very well also, both for sowing and transplanting. It is well, however, to have the plants well established in the soil some days before the heavy rains, and with this object, I have lately succeeded wherever it was desirable, in transplanting the young plants on the very first rain, and this year early in October. They bear it extremely well in cloudy and light rainy days, and it will succeed without doubt, immediately, if they have a small portion of earth attached to them. Whenever this mode is proposed, a seed bed must be prepared and sown in July, in soil tolerably good, and watered from some well near the place that is to receive the plants in October.

Of late I have given the plantations under my own immediate eye their principal pruning, as soon as ever the heavy rains have passed away, say from the 15th to the 31st December, or just at the time before the sap becomes active. In the fine days of January, I plough the plantation thoroughly three or four times over. In less than two months the whole is again in the finest foliage and in full blossom, and continues in full bearing all the months of March, April, and May. Just at this time, at the crisis of extreme heats, a short suspension may be observed to the production of fruit-buds.

I should mention that, at the pruning above adverted to, I clear the plants entirely of all the very young wood, or all with soft green bark, cutting the shrub down generally to two feet high and two feet wide, but leaving all that can be properly left of the firm wood with the strong white and brown bark. In June again there will generally be a good portion of pods still remaining on the plant, and the rain here is at that season very light; and I find it enough to cut away merely the long straggling twisted soft shoots with diminutive pods; and if this is done very early in June, the better. But under all circumstances, the plant would yield a good produce from July to September, unless it should receive any damage from rain in those months. In June, perhaps, if the soil allows, it is enough to give the plantations a slight hoeing with the mamootis. In the old plantations, nothing seems necessary to be attended to in the monsoon, but draining them of the rain as much as may be practicable.

I know not well how to answer the query regarding the annual produce on any given quantity of land—at least with the precision and satisfaction I would wish to do. It is a very speculative point, and admits of wide limits of estimation. We may learn from books, that from 200 to 300 pounds of clean cotton are produced, and are expected, per acre in the West Indies and in America. Here some of my dependants, to whom I have allotted small spots of land to grow it for me in their way, think they perform wonders if they give me as much as fifty the acre. This is obviously a matter mostly resolving itself into the degree of judgment or diligence exercised in the cultivation, and no less so perhaps in the suitableness of soil and situation. Speaking for myself, I shall be very well content indeed to be sure of getting one hundred pounds the acre of fine clean cotton; and yet, adverting to the very prolific nature of this species of cotton shrub, I can give no good reasons why much more might not be expected. On this point, important as it must be admitted to be, and on all considerations of expense, as compared to the produce from any given measurement of land, I must confess that with all my experience I yet feel an incompetency to impart anything like precise and definite information. I cannot calculate my cotton to cost me less in this country than twelve-pence the pound. The freight is of course paid in England. But it is very obvious that if it were within the possible labours of any individual to produce anything in quantity that was material, the benefit would be abundantly handsome; but the difficulties to carrying it on on a large scale, cannot be known to those who have not engaged actively in the undertaking. The natives can in nothing be trusted, as I have

found to my serious loss. But I will pass from these considerations to what is of much more importance.

The extract of a letter I lately received from my London agents, and which I annex, may prove of great utility in pressing upon the attention of your friend, the vast importance which is attached to the process of cleaning. I have known, to my cost, how easily these things may be overlooked: care to this department of the business must commence from the very gathering of the pods. The cotton should never be picked but at the most mature state; and even then, although gathered in the very hottest weather, the seed contains so much moisture that it is well to have it carefully dried immediately afterwards, two or three days, and before it is set aside; and care too should be taken that it does not at this time contract dirt and sand in the wool. Before I send it to the mill, it is now my practice to have the pods of cotton, as it is attached to the seed, most carefully examined in the first instance, and all the decayed, damaged, discoloured, immature part of it, first separated; at this stage, probably, not less than one-tenth of the whole is rejected in this way—and it is well rejected; it is then put to the mill after a little exposure to the sun in the usual way everywhere. But at the same time that the wool is separated from the seed, I have other women always present to clean it again by hand, as soon as it comes from the mill; all remaining impurities are better detected at this time than if the wool were previously pressed together again. The wool in this way is merely, I may say, *searched*, not pulled or broken. Even in this process there is a loss of scarcely less than five per cent. It is a good day's work for one woman to clean by the mill 9⅜ pounds of paruttis, or the cotton with the seeds; the wool which is separated is quite as much as another will manage, giving a produce of 2¼ pounds on a large average of very fine and extremely clean cotton, which is immediately placed in strong Dungaree bags, until I have enough for a bale.

Extract of a Letter from Messrs. Fairlie, Bonham, and Co., London, 22nd April, 1817, *to George Arthur Hughes, of Tennevelle.*

"We enclose the Price-Current of cotton-wool at the present sale at the India House, amongst which it gives us much pleasure to point out your five bales by the *Grant*, which sold from 2*s*. 1⅝*d*. to 2*s*. 1⅞*d*. per pound.

"The great improvement which this parcel shows to be attainable in the cultivation of the Bourbon species with you, is indeed very encouraging, and seems to open a fair field to future operations on a

more extended scale; you have hitherto succeeded in this instance only, in producing a real equivalent for the Bourbon wool, what we formerly had, being but a distant imitation, and in request only when the true Bourbon was particularly scarce and dear. For it is not the fineness, nor the cleanness of the staple, important as these qualities must always be, that will suffice to raise it to its proper estimation. Evenness of fibre, and susceptibility of being drawn out into a thread, without the fibre being entangled, are also indispensable, and may be greatly marred by the process of beating with sticks, so as to occasion that entanglement. Managed as the present consignment has been, so much superior to the preceding fifteen bales, any quantity would here meet a ready sale, and we should suppose would amply recompense the trouble and care which it demands.

"We think this is a matter of so much importance, that we have taken a sample from these bags, which we intend to accompany this letter, that, by reference to it, you may keep in view the qualities that would always command this market."

Art. XXVI.—*Note on the Cotton Soils of Georgia, by* Mr. Solly.

Read Feb. 16, 1839.

The successful cultivation of cotton depends on a variety of circumstances, to each of which attention should be paid; amongst the foremost in importance are, attention to the climate, and to the soil. In endeavouring to introduce into one country the mode of cultivation, long known and practised with success in another, the local peculiarities of the country, as influenced by the form of the surface, the vicinity of hills, and nature of the surrounding countries, together with the consequent modifications of atmospheric phenomena produced by it, must be observed. These, in connexion with the capacity for heat, the radiating power, the rapidity of evaporation, and the structure and composition of the soil, both physical and chemical, require investigation. These points are all of vital importance, and must be studied both in detail and in connexion with each other, to obtain useful results.

Considering the subject as one of very great importance to India, the Committee of Commerce and Agriculture have procured, through the assistance of Her Majesty's Consul at Savanha, information on many points connected with the cultivation of cotton in Georgia, and also specimens of soil taken from four of the principal plantations in that country; these specimens are now arrived, and are in course of examination, and being sufficiently numerous and collected from localites at a distance from each other, there is reason to hope that the investigation of their composition will throw some light on the nature of the soil best suited to the cotton plant. One of the specimens is peculiarly well suited for an examination of this kind, as the cotton grown in the plantation from which it is taken, is said to be the best of any produced in the state of Georgia, and to fetch a price of ½*d.* per lb. above the highest market price obtained for the cotton from other plantations. The influence which the nature of the cotton soil exerts on the produce of the plants, is variously estimated by different authors, but all agree that it has considerable influence. It is evident that the nature of the soil must be considered in connexion with the peculiarities of the climate of the country, if useful deductions are to be drawn, because the soil which, in one climate, would be well adapted to the cultivation of cotton, would, in another, be probably quite inapplicable. It

must therefore be remembered that a cotton plantation in India, even though the soil were of precisely the same nature as that of the plantations in Georgia, would be under very different circumstances, if the climate were different. It is, no doubt, owing to not properly comparing these circumstances that some planters have considered land in the immediate vicinity of the sea to be superior to all other, whilst others again have found plantations far more inland, thrive quite as well and equally productive. Upon consulting the best authors who have written upon this subject. I find that they mostly mention as best suited for the cotton plants, a light sandy soil, and one not too rich, because, in a soil of the latter description, the plant grows too luxuriantly, and forms a great abundance of leaves, though but little cotton. Dr. Royle says, in his Illustrations of the Botany, &c., of the Himalayas, " the soil best adapted for the cotton is a light and sandy soil, particularly if held together by a little clay or calcareous earth, and mixed with a small portion of vegetable matter, but volcanic deposits are said to be the most favourable, and the banks of rivers which are overflowed and become covered with mud. A moderate degree of moisture is essential, but too great aridity is injurious, and must be counteracted by irrigation, and as an excess of moisture induces the production of a profusion of leaves and flowers, though the latter fall off and the roots rot, it must be obviated by drainage."

Mr. Hughes, of Tinnevelly, in his paper on the cultivation of the Bourbon cotton, states that he found the red and brown loams, or, indeed, any siliceous or calcareous soils, fertile in a moderate degree, best suited; and that the so-called black cotton soil was not at all suited. But Mr. Heath, who successfully cultivated the Bourbon cotton, mentions that the annual variety of cotton which is cultivated in the district, on the Coromandel coast, south of Madras, grows only in the black cotton soil, which he supposed was formed by the decomposition of trap rocks. If this supposition be correct, it is evident that the black cotton soil of India is of a very different nature from the black cotton soil of North America, and the blackness of the Indian soil is, probably, caused by the presence of oxide of iron, whilst the colour of the American soil is wholly attributable to vegetable matter.

The specimens of cotton soil received from Georgia are ten in number, and are enclosed in tin vessels and bottles. They were very badly secured, or rather not secured at all; and hence the soils were not in so pure a state as could have been desired, having become mixed with fragments of straw used in the packing. These impu-

rities, however, being mostly large, were easily detected, and separated from the other organic substances naturally contained in the soil. Specimens of this kind should be secured in well-closed bottles, or in tin boxes, well and tightly soldered up.

These soils are all of a very similar nature, so that one general description may serve for all. The differences which exist between them are in the relative quantity of the constituents, and not in their nature. Their structure is light, porous, and friable, of such a nature as to present a considerable retentive power for water, and yet, from its openness, to allow of a considerable degree of drainage. They consist principally of sand, which, in the different specimens, varies slightly in its fineness and appearance: one of the soils, namely, that marked D, consists of but little else besides sand. The next substance which they contain is alumina, or clay, and this likewise varies considerably in quantity; in D it is present in a small quantity only; whilst in E it constitutes a large portion. Thirdly, they all contain oxide of iron, and manganese, in variable quantity; and to the presence of these substances the variations in colour are mainly attributable: the black soil, D 1, contains but little, and the red soil, a considerable quantity. These soils contain hardly any lime, a circumstance of considerable importance. They contain a trace of sulphate of lime, but only in very minute portions; and the quantity of carbonate of lime is so small as hardly to give rise to any perceptible effervescence when an acid is poured on them. When exposed to a strong heat, the organic matters which they contain are destroyed; these are of two kinds, the one being portions of plants, fibrous matters, &c., in a state of decay; and the other consisting of very finely-divided and soluble matters; these in the soils vary from four to eight per cent., and in the sub-soils from one and a-half to four. Besides these substances the soils also contain traces of saline matter. It does not seem as if the presence of any peculiar substance in the soils is essential to the successful cultivation of cotton. Considerable importance is attached by some to the existence of calcareous substances, considering its presence as almost essential. Mr. Molyneux states that one of the plantations from which specimens of soil is sent, is situated in a limestone district, and that the produce is invariably good. I have very little doubt that the goodness of this plantation is but little influenced by the calcareous nature of the strata in a chemical point of view; because, as I have already stated, the soils contain hardly any lime. The influence which the soils exert on the produce of the cotton-plant, depends probably more on the mechanical texture than on the

chemical composition. Its tenacity must not be too great, but it must be loose and friable, so that the delicate fibres of the roots can penetrate easily in all directions. Its capacity for heat and retentive power for moisture, which of course regulate in some measure the rapidity of evaporation and dryness of soil, is also of great importance. Those soils which remain too moist or become too easily dry, and in drying become hard, as is the case with some clayey soils, are of course bad, and the presence of these qualities is probably of far more importance than the presence of any peculiar substance in the soil.

Art. XXVII.—*On Iron, by* Henry Wilkinson, Esq., M.R.A.S.

Read 16*th February,* 1839.

Iron has been applied to numerous useful purposes, by every civilized nation, for thousands of years; but never has it been so extensively employed as at the present period. We have iron roads and iron carriages; the "wooden walls of old England" will probably be made of iron in another century; numerous steam-boats are already constructed of that material; the cushions of our chairs are stuffed with iron in place of horsehair; and not only our bedsteads but even our feather beds (to use an Hibernicism) are made of iron.

These are, however, merely mechanical applications of this important metal; but when we are told of living animals whose bodies are composed almost wholly of iron, encased in flint, and that these animals feed on plants, have the power of motion, and can live in muriatic acid, it may at first excite a smile of incredulity; nevertheless Professor Ehrenberg has discovered that the bog-iron ore, from which the beautiful Berlin castings are made, originates from an animalcule that once had life, the whole mass being composed of the bodies of myriads of these animals; and that the Tripoli or polishing powder so extensively used in the arts, and in Berlin, to form the casting-moulds in the iron founderies, is entirely composed of the shells of similar animalculæ, capable of bearing a red heat without destroying their outer coating or shell. What is still more satisfactory and more extraordinary, these animalculæ do not form an extinct or doubtful species, but actually exist in abundance in the waters and ditches near Berlin; and not only abroad, but so near home as to have been recently met with at Hampstead and Highgate. These are facts calculated not only to astonish, but to establish our extreme ignorance of the laws and operations of nature; and having been demonstrated beyond the possibility of doubt, it is in the power of every one to satisfy himself of the truth of Professor Ehrenberg's statement*. Dr. Faraday has shown that iron will remain for months in *strong* nitric acid, without the slightest action taking place, although in diluted or weaker acid it is instantly attacked with violence: he has proved that when chemical action ceases, electrical action ceases also, and *vice versâ;* and has also shown that

* Vide Paper read by Professor Ehrenberg at the Royal Academy of Sciences at Berlin, July 7, 1836, and *Scientific Memoirs*, vol. i. part 3.

platinum and carbon act as protectors to iron under such circumstances. These curious facts sufficiently attest the importance of a subject which appears hitherto to have eluded the grasp of every philosopher. Every artisan who is in the habit of working this metal imagines he understands its properties perfectly, and so he does as far as regards the mere adaptation of it to his own immediate purposes; but to the chemist and philosopher it presents so many anomalies, that iron at the present moment occupies the attention of the scientific men of every country, as a problem they have hitherto been unable to solve. Its chemical and electrical properties are at variance with all preconceived ideas, and it appears to possess some extraordinary relation to other bodies which, whenever it may be satisfactorily explained, will open an extensive field of scientific inquiry, and prepare the way for the most important discoveries. It must therefore be universally acknowledged that iron is the most valuable and most important metal with which we are acquainted.

Platinum, gold, silver, copper, and most metals in ordinary use, appear, when purified, to be nearly the same in quality from whatever part of the world they may be obtained; but iron varies so much, according to the nature of the ore and method of reduction, that hardly two specimens of iron from different countries, or even from different parts of the same kingdom, are alike in those properties which characterize the metals, such as tenacity, ductility, and fusibility. The consideration of these facts having occupied much of my time, and caused me to make many experiments, I am inclined to offer some remarks, which, if not new, may possibly lead those who have more extensive means and opportunities, to pursue the subject with greater advantage than myself. Any attempt to elucidate this interesting subject, even theoretically, must be acceptable, especially if new or forgotten facts can be adduced to bear upon the point in question.

Of all the agents which it has pleased the Creator to employ in the grand system of the universe, there is none which appears to exert so much influence as electricity, taken in its most extended meaning. Gravitation and attraction, the laws by which bodies are *drawn* together, and cohesion, that property by which they are *held* together, have all been referred to electrical causes; and the various branches of science designated Electricity, Galvanism or Voltaism, and Magnetism, which were formerly considered distinct from each other, and governed by different laws, have now been demonstrated to be merely modifications of that universal electrical action by which we are continually surrounded, and of which every body in

nature appears to partake, but which action is only rendered evident to our senses when the equilibrium is destroyed by some exciting cause. Now, iron is a metal well known to exhibit in the most striking manner the phenomena of electricity in that form called magnetism; and it has always appeared to me, *that the different states of iron and steel depend on electrical causes modified by the action of carbon and oxygen.* In order more clearly to comprehend this subject, I must briefly, and therefore imperfectly, explain the usual method of manufacturing iron in Europe. The ore is first broken up and roasted, in order to drive off the sulphur and other volatile ingredients; it is then mixed with a certain quantity of limestone and charcoal, and the whole thrown into a furnace heated with coke, or charcoal. The carbon combines with the oxygen of the iron, (an aluminous iron ore, or protoxide of iron, being most usual,) and escapes in the form of carbonic acid gas, while the clay unites with the lime, and forms a kind of fluid glass, or scoria, which floats on the surface, protecting the iron from the action of the atmosphere, and acting as a flux; the iron sinks to the bottom, from whence, when in perfect fusion, it is allowed to flow into channels or moulds prepared for its reception, and in this state is called *cast-iron,* which is iron combined with various doses of carbon and oxygen and other impurities, constituting the varieties called *white, gray,* and *black,* according to the quantity of carbon absorbed. When broken, the fracture is coarse and granular, depending on the size of the crystals, and in this state I conceive the crystalline arrangement to be greatly influenced by electrical causes. In order to convert cast-iron into malleable or pure iron, the oxygen and carbon must be driven off, which is now effected by a process called *puddling,* invented about fifty years ago by Cort; this operation consists in exposing the iron to a high temperature in a reverberatory furnace, the flame of which plays upon the metal: the workman keeps stirring it about until it assumes a pasty* consistency; but previous to this the whole mass, at a certain temperature, disintegrates, falling to pieces like sand, the particles having lost all cohesive or electrical attraction: the flame being then urged on, the temperature rises, and adhesion again takes place; it is then removed and beaten under a hammer of several tons weight, worked by steam power; this condenses the metal and drives out the impurities; afterwards it is again heated, and drawn out into bars either by *tilting* or *rolling.* During the process of *puddling,* the mass heaves and swells, giving out jets of flame, evidently caused by the emission of inflammable gas. The metal

* Technically called "*coming into nature.*"

thus prepared is malleable iron; it has lost all its former brittleness, and has no longer the granular structure of cast-iron. It is evident that, by continual agitation the particles are prevented from assuming any regular or natural arrangement: hammering and elongation convert the crystals into fibres, and the tenacity is increased in proportion to the decrease of granular or crystalline structure. In this operation, art interferes with the laws of nature; and malleable iron thus prepared, is iron deprived of its carbon and oxygen, depending for its qualities on a variety of circumstances, such as a minute alloy with the metallic bases of the earths or with other metals and impurities; the strength of its fibres being influenced by the original size of the crystals of which these fibres are composed, in the same manner as the strength of a rope depends, first, on the quality of the hemp or flax, and secondly, on the comparative fineness or coarseness of the individual threads of which it is formed. In malleable or pure iron, therefore, the crystalline arrangement is destroyed; in this state it is incapable of being rendered permanently magnetic, or of receiving any increase of hardness by sudden changes from heat to cold, as by making red-hot and plunging into water; but if we simply stratify bars of iron with charcoal, and expose them to a proper temperature in a furnace for a given time, the *iron* becomes converted into *steel* by the absorption of a minute portion of carbon, and its properties are completely altered; it will now permanently retain magnetism, and will become hard enough to scratch glass when made red-hot and plunged into cold water; it has also completely changed its appearance on fracture, which could only be effected by the particles being removed far enough asunder by the action of heat to enable them to arrange themselves according to their natural laws at that temperature, which laws appear to be governed by electrical action.

Steel, however, when first prepared as described, is only suitable for common purposes, and is called *blistered steel,* from its appearance. In order to render it suitable for finer purposes, the blistered steel is either *fagotted* (*i. e.* packed together) and then welded, to form *German* or *shear steel;* or, it is broken into small pieces and fused in a crucible with carbon, in order to convert it into the finest kind called *cast steel.* In the latter process, the particles being in a state of fusion, and having a perfect freedom of motion, are at liberty to arrange themselves according to natural or electrical laws modified by carbon only: the fracture then assumes a fine granular appearance, caused by the smallness and regularity of the crystals. The difference between the European and Oriental

methods of conversion, consists in the greater simplicity of the process adopted by the latter. *Wootz*, or Indian steel, is prepared by breaking up the iron ore and throwing it into a charcoal furnace, urged by bellows worked by men, from whence the iron is at once obtained in a malleable state, and being cut into pieces of about one pound in weight, is converted into steel by putting it into a crucible with the dried branches and green leaves of various shrubs. The natives of India consider that the different kinds of wood employed in the first reduction of the ore, as well as in the subsequent conversion of the iron into steel, have a decided effect in producing different qualities of iron and steel. The *wootz*, or steel, being allowed to cool in the crucible; the particles have sufficient time to arrange themselves and form crystals: hence arise those beautiful combinations which, when forged into sword blades, produce the Damascus figure, or "*Jowher*," as I have more fully explained in my paper on this subject, published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society in* 1837. Good steel, however, from whatever source obtained, possesses the property of becoming extremely hard by being heated to a bright cherry red and then plunged into water.

The reason appears to be that by the action of heat the particles arrange themselves according to the temperature, and being suddenly fixed in that state by cooling, are held in a state of tension similar to glass when unannealed, and like it also are extremely brittle; the particles when cold, being by the sudden change fixed in the same position as they were while red hot. This extreme hardness renders the steel unfit for a variety of purposes, it therefore requires to be tempered, or *taken down*, in order to make it available for cutting instruments of every description and for springs; this operation consists in again gradually raising the temperature of the steel until it assumes various shades of colour caused by the thickness of the oxide formed on the surface, which should be previously polished; the colours produced in succession are, first, a very pale yellow, which comes on at a temperature of 430° to 450°; a straw colour at 460°, a brownish metallic yellow at 500°, then brown, red, and purple to 580°, when it begins to assume a fine deep blue, like watch springs. If the heat be continued until quite red hot and the steel be allowed to cool slowly, it will become as soft as it was before it was hardened. This takes place in consequence of the particles endeavouring to regain the position which they occupied previous to hardening. At every increment of heat, additional freedom of motion is communicated to the particles by separating them further asunder, which adapts the steel to the peculiar purposes for which it

may be destined; but it does not wholly recover its natural state until rendered as soft as possible, by the gradual process of slow cooling. By what power is this continual motion of the particles effected? I conceive it to be *the power of electrical action which varies with every change of temperature.* Heat merely separating the particles far enough asunder to admit of motion taking place; and there is no doubt, I think, that every change of temperature in the atmosphere produces corresponding changes on the particles of all matter, although insufficient to be evident to our senses.

Theories, however plausible, are of little use, unless they can be applied to some practical advantage, and the object I have long had in view, is to test this theory by experiments, which want of time has hitherto prevented. I consider, that when steel is in a state of perfect fusion, it is highly probable that its quality might be materially influenced by causing it to be acted upon by artificial electrical currents, allowing it to cool and become solid while under that influence. Experiment alone can determine whether this opinion be correct or otherwise; and if correct, whether beneficial or injurious.

I hope to receive a variety of specimens from India, with answers to a series of questions I proposed some time since, through the medium of this Society, but which have hitherto been unavoidably delayed. When they arrive, I shall feel great pleasure in communicating the result of my inquiries to this Society.

The accounts already published and in MS. respecting the methods of preparing iron and steel in India, are already sufficient for every purpose of general information, but in order to investigate the subject more closely, I am desirous of obtaining specimens from various provinces of India, arranged in the following order, together with any local information suggested by circumstances, and I am authorized by the Royal Asiatic Society to state, that they will feel obliged to any gentleman whose leisure and opportunity may enable him to forward specimens and replies to their Secretary in London.

1*st.*—Specimens of the ore as taken from the mine, specifying the locality and whether washed, or roasted before being put into the furnace.

2*nd.*—Portions of the iron as taken from the furnace; a few pounds in weight.

3*rd.*—One or two crucibles with the iron, wood, and leaves, just as prepared by the native workmen, to be placed in the furnace for conversion into wootz, or steel.

4*th.*—One or two crucibles, containing the steel, as taken from the furnace after conversion, without being broken or opened

5th.—Several speciments of the wootz, or steel, made at the same time, just as taken from the crucibles, especially those made nearest to Cutch, and usually in flat cakes, about one inch thick, and three or four inches in diameter. Also, whether the natives are aware, or have any means of ascertaining by external appearances, whether the cakes are full of "*jowher*" or figure, so as to produce good Damascus sword-blades.

6th.—Description of the native mode of working the identical quality of steel sent as specimens, with any implements manufactured by them from the same.

7th—Specimens and description of the wood employed for charcoal in the furnaces.

8th.—Specimens and description of the wood used in the crucibles, and also of the green leaves employed in the conversion of the iron into steel, with the botanical and native names when known.

Note.—Some specimens of wootz, or steel, examined by me, and said to come from *Cutch,* were full of the "*jowher*" or watering, peculiar to Damascus sword-blades, and when forged out, showed most distinctly the crystalline arrangement.

Art. XXVIII.—*On Indian Iron and Steel; in a Letter addressed to the Secretary to the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, by* J. M. Heath, Esq.

(*Read Feb.* 16, 1839.)

In the month of June, 1837, the Managing Directors of the Indian Iron and Steel Company received a letter from Robert Clerk, Esq., Secretary to the Madras Governor, forwarding a copy of your letter of the 17th of February, 1837, addressed to the Governor of Madras, requesting information on the subject of wootz*, or Indian steel: the purport of Mr. Clerk's letter was to ask us to furnish the information and specimens required by you, provided we could do so without inconvenience or detriment to our own interests.

At the time Mr. Clerk's letter was received, I was the only one of the Managing Directors who was in possession of sufficiently detailed information on the subject of the manufacture of Indian steel, to be able to reply to the queries contained in your letter, but as the duties I had to discharge at that time in the superintendence of our iron works at Porto Novo, were exceedingly laborious, it was altogether out of my power to turn my attention to the subject previously to my departure from India, in November, 1837: the leisure afforded by the voyage home has enabled me to resume the subject of your letter, and I have now the pleasure to communicate to you such information on the subject of Indian steel, as my experience has enabled me to collect.

The ore from which the wootz steel is made, is the magnetic oxide of iron, combined with quartz, of which specimens accompany this letter: the ore varies much in its appearance, according as the grains of quartz and oxide of iron are large or small, but the proportion in which the component parts unite, is nearly uniformly 48 of quartz and 52 of oxide of iron, in 100 parts by weight.

It is found in many parts of the South of India, but the district of Salem is the principal seat of the steel manufacture. The ore occurs generally in the form of low hills, and the quantity of it which is exposed above the surface of the surrounding country, is so considerable, that it is not probable that it will ever become neces-

* Wootz, or Oots, is probably the name of steel in the Guzerattee language in use at Bombay, from which place the first specimens of Indian steel were sent to England under that name.

sary to have recourse to under-ground operations, supposing the smelting of iron ore from this district to be carried on to any extent that can be contemplated.

It is prepared for being smelted by stamping and separating the quartz from it, either by washing it in a current of water, or by winnowing it in the manner in which rice is separated from the husk : in most of the deposits of ore, parts are found in which the quartz is in a state of disintegration, and these, from the greater facility with which they are broken, are always selected by the natives for their furnaces.

The furnace, or bloomery, in which the ore is smelted, is from three to five feet high from the surface of the ground, and the ground is hollowed out beneath it to the depth of from eight inches to a foot: it is somewhat pear-shaped, being about two feet in diameter at the ground, tapering to about one foot diameter at the top: it is built entirely of clay, two men can finish one in a few hours, and it is ready for use next day. The blast is supplied by two bellows, each made of a single goat's skin, with a bamboo nozzle : the two nozzles meet in a clay pipe, which passes about half-way through the furnace at the level of the ground, and by working the bellows alternately, a tolerably uniform blast is kept up; a semicircular opening, about a foot high and a foot in diameter at the bottom, is left in the furnace, and before each smelting, it is built up with clay. The furnace is then filled up with charcoal, and a lighted coal being introduced before the bellows, the fuel in the interior is soon kindled : as soon as this is accomplished, a small portion of the ore previously moistened with water, to prevent it from running through the charcoal, but without any description of flux, is laid on the top of the fuel, and charcoal is thrown over it to fill up the furnace : in this manner ore and fuel are added, and the bellows plied for four hours or thereabouts, when the process is stopped; and the temporary wall in front of the furnace having been broken down, the bloom is removed by a pair of tongs from the bottom of the furnace : it is then beaten with a wooden mallet to separate as much of the vitrified oxide of iron as possible, and while still red hot, it is cut through the middle with a hatchet, in order to show the quality of the interior of the mass : in this state it is sold to the blacksmiths, who perform all the subsequent operations of forging it into bars and making it into steel.

The process of forging the iron into bars is performed by sinking the blooms in a small charcoal furnace, and by repeated heatings and hammerings, to free it as much as possible from the vitrified

and unreduced oxide of iron: it is thus formed into small bars about a foot long, an inch and half broad, and about half an inch thick; in this state the iron is full of cracks and exceedingly red short; and were an English manufacturer of steel to be told that cast-steel of excellent quality could be made from such iron, he would treat the assertion with great contempt.

It is from this unpromising material, however, that the Indian steel is always made; the bars of iron just described, are cut into small pieces to enable them to pack close in the crucible: a quantity of these pieces amounting to about half a pound, and from that to two pounds, as the mass of steel is required to be of greater or less weight, is then put into a crucible alone, with a tenth part by weight of dried wood chopped small, and the iron and wood are then covered over with one or two green leaves; the mouth of the crucible is then filled up by a handful of tempered clay, which is rammed in so close as to exclude the air perfectly.

The wood which is always selected to furnish carbon to the iron, is the *Cassia auriculata*, and the leaf used to cover the iron and wood is that of the *Asclepias gigantea*, or, where that is not to be had, that of the *Convolvulus laurifolius*. As soon as the clay, used to stop the mouths of the crucibles, is dry, they are built up in the form of an arch, with their bottoms inwards, in a small furnace urged by two goat-skin bellows; charcoal is heaped up over them, and the blast kept up without intermission for about two hours and a-half, when it is stopped, and the process is considered complete: the furnace contains from twenty to twenty-four crucibles.

The crucibles are next removed from the furnace, and allowed to cool; they are then broken, and the steel which has been left to solidify is taken out in a cake, having the form of the bottom of the crucible; each cake is the produce of one crucible, and the steel is never procured from a larger quantity. When the fusion has been perfect, the top of the cake is covered with striæ, radiating from the centre, but without any holes or rough projections on it; when the fusion has been less perfect, the surface of the cake has a honey-combed appearance, caused probably by particles of scoriæ and unreduced oxide in the bar-iron, and often contains projecting lumps of iron still in the malleable state.

The crucibles are formed of a red loam, which is very refractory, mixed with a large quantity of charred husk of rice; they are made by taking a lump of the tempered clay in one hand, and giving it a rotatory motion, while it is hollowed out by the fingers of the other hand: each crucible serves only for one operation.

The natives prepare the cakes of steel for being drawn into bars by annealing them for several hours in a charcoal fire, actuated by bellows, the current of air from which is made to play upon the cakes while turned over before it at a heat just short of that sufficient to melt them. It appears from this, that in order to insure the fusion of the contents of the crucible, it is found necessary to employ a larger dose of carbon than is required to form the hardest steel, and that this excess is afterwards got rid of by annealing the cakes before a current of air at a high heat, the oxygen of the air combining with and carrying off the excess of carbon in the gaseous form: without this operation none of the cakes would stand drawing into bars without breaking.

The only fuel employed by the natives of India throughout the different stages of iron and steel making is wood charcoal. The magnetic oxide of iron, when separated from the quartz with which it is naturally combined in the ore from which the wootz steel is made, consists of 72 per cent. of iron and 28 of oxygen. The native method of smelting the ore is so exceedingly imperfect, that the produce from their furnaces in bar-iron does not average more than fifteen per cent.

When specimens of Indian steel were first examined by chemists in England, they were quite unable to discover the process by which it had been manufactured. The late Dr Pearson published an account of his examination of this substance in the seventeenth volume of the *Philosophical Transactions*, and the result of his observations is in these words: "We may without risk conclude that it is made directly from the ore, and consequently that it has never been in the state of wrought-iron." Dr. Buchanan's *Travels in the South of India* were published in the year 1807: they contain a very minute and correct account of the native processes of smelting iron and making it unto steel, illustrated by engravings. Dr. Heyne's *Tracts on India*, were published in 1814, and they also contain an account of both processes, along with a very interesting letter from the late Mr. Stoddart upon the quality of Indian steel, which he pronounces to be decidedly superior to any other description of steel; yet in page 223, of the first volume of the *Treatise on Metals*, lately published, it is stated, "that the wootz of India, in the state in which we receive it, is the immediate product of the ore, seems to be undoubted."

The principle of the Indian process is so different from that practised in England for making cast-steel, that it is not surprising that in the absence of all information upon the subject, Dr. Pearson

should have formed an erroneous opinion as to its nature. It has always appeared to me one of the most astonishing facts in the history of the arts, that the Hindús should be in possession of a process, the theory of which is extremely recondite, and in the discovery of which, there seems so little room for the agency of chance : it is impossible to suppose, however, that the process was discovered by any scientific induction, for the theory of it can only be explained by the lights of modern chemistry : in fact, all speculation upon the origin of the discovery seems useless. It appears an easy matter to trace the successive steps of the steel manufacture in Europe. In Europe, steel seems first to have been made in modern times in Germany; the process consisted in partially decarbonating cast-iron in a finery, and bringing the metal under the hammer before the process for converting it into malleable iron was completed : this was, of course, the work of chance, as was also the further discovery that the iron manufactured from some kinds of iron ore, was fitter for making this natural steel, as it is called, than that made from other ore : this was for a long time the only description of steel made in Europe, and although the manufacture of cutlery has been established in England for some centuries, yet the only steel used for this purpose, for a very long period, was the natural steel of Germany.

As soon as chemical investigation had discovered that steel consisted of pure iron united to a very small proportion of carbon, an obvious experiment would be to endeavour to form steel by synthesis; and hence the process of subjecting pure malleable iron to a high heat in contact with carbon, producing blistered steel as the result. This step in the manufacture was found to be a great improvement upon the German steel, and the next step which would immediately suggest itself, that of welding several bars of blistered steel together, and drawing them down into a single bar under a very heavy hammer, forming what is called shear-steel, was found still further to improve the quality; still it was found that all these descriptions of steel possessed defects which rendered them unfit for purposes which required a high polish and a fine and strong edge : these defects could evidently be traced to impurities in the body of the steel, or variations in its quality; and it would seem an obvious suggestion to endeavour to equalize the quality of the steel by reducing it to the fluid state in a close vessel, so as to prevent the dissipation of its carbon by exposure to the air at a high temperature. This is, in fact, the process now followed in England for making cast-steel, which is the only description of steel fit for fine cutlery;

and simple and inartificial as the process appears, it was only discovered in England about the middle of the last century.

The antiquity of the Indian process is no less astonishing than its ingenuity. We can hardly doubt that the tools with which the Egyptians covered their obelisks and temples of porphyry and syenite with hieroglyphics were made of Indian steel. There is no evidence to shew that any of the nations of antiquity besides the Hindús were acquainted with the art of making steel. The notices which occur in the Greek and Latin writers on this subject serve only to betray their ignorance of it: they were acquainted with the qualities and familiar with the use of steel, but they appear to have been altogether ignorant of the mode in which it was prepared from iron. The arms and cutting instruments of the ancients were all formed of alloys of copper and tin, and we are certain that tools of such an alloy could not have been employed in sculpturing porphyry and syenite.

Had the ancient nations of the west been in possession of the process of converting iron into steel, there can be no doubt that they would have used it in the fabrication of their arms, for in all parts of the world where steel is made, it can be sold much cheaper than copper. The price of steel in India is about one-fifth of the price of copper, but the expense of transporting it from India to Europe and Egypt by the ancient routes of commerce would have enhanced its price so much as to restrict the use of it to such articles as required to be possessed of a degree of hardness which could not be imparted to any other metal. One certain fact has reached us regarding the antiquity of the steel manufacture in India: Quintus Curtius mentions that a present of steel was made to Alexander of Macedon, by Porus, an Indian chief, whose country he had invaded. We can hardly believe that a matter of about thirty pounds weight of steel would have been considered a present worthy the acceptance of the conqueror of the world, had the manufacture of that substance been practised by any of the nations of the West in the days of Alexander. We may judge from the extent of the present, how much the cost of the article had been enhanced by transport from the place of its manufacture to the country of Porus.

We know that a maritime intercourse was maintained from the remotest antiquity between the Malabar coast, the Persian Gulf, the country about the mouths of the Indus and the Red Sea; and it appears reasonable to conclude that the steel of the South of India found its way by these routes to the country of Porus, to the nations of Europe, and to Egypt.

It appears then that the claim of India to a discovery which has exercised more influence on the arts conducive to civilization and manufacturing industry, than any other within the whole range of human inventions, is altogether unquestionable. What a theme for a reflective mind is the consideration of what would have been the social condition of the human race had the art of converting iron into steel still remained undiscovered!

A few remarks seem called for, regarding the distinguishing peculiarity of the Indian process of steel-making.

It will have been observed that it differs from the ordinary English process, from the circumstance of the iron being put into the crucible in the pure state, and without having gone through the process of cementation or conversion into blistered steel.

That iron could be converted into cast-steel by fusing it in a close vessel in contact with carbon, was a discovery made by Mr. D. Mushet about the year 1800. This was undoubtedly the original idea of a man of talent, following the light thrown on the theory of steel-making by the discoveries of modern chemistry. The substances Mr. Mushet proposed to use, were "charcoal-dust, pitcoal-dust, plumbago, or any substance containing the coaly or carbonaceous principle." Now this specification unquestionably comprises the principle of the Indian process, which adopts the use of dry wood, which is a "substance containing the coaly or carbonaceous principle." I believe, however, that Mr. Mushet*, in practice, confined himself to the use of charcoal-powder in preference to dry wood, in consequence of the comparatively small bulk of the former required to carbonate the iron, and the consequent saving of space in the crucible.

In the year 1825, Mr. Charles Mackintosh† took out a patent for converting iron into steel by exposing it to the action of carburetted-hydrogen gas in a close vessel, at a very high temperature, by which means the process of conversion is completed in a few hours, while by the old method it was the work of from fourteen to twenty days.

* Mr. Mushet took out a patent for this process, but, owing to causes entirely unconnected with the merits of the discovery, it was never successfully carried into practice.

† The patentee of the Indian-rubber waterproof fabrics. Mr. Mackintosh also took out a patent for his process for steel-making; but although I have seen samples of the steel made in this way, yet the process was not found to answer on a large scale: it was found impossible to keep the chambers in which the bars of iron were suspended air-tight at the very high temperature to which it was necessary to raise them in order to enable the iron to combine with the gaseous carbon.

Now it appears to me that the Indian process combines the principles of both the above described methods: on elevating the temperature of the crucible containing pure iron and dry wood and green leaves, an abundant evolution of carburetted hydrogen gas would take place from the vegetable matter, and as its escape would be prevented by the luting at the mouth of the crucible, it would be retained in contact with the iron, which, at a high temperature, appears from Mr. Mackintosh's process to have a much greater affinity for gaseous than for concrete carbon; this would greatly shorten the operation, and probably at a much lower temperature than were the iron in contact with charcoal powder. In no other way can I account for the fact that iron is converted into cast-steel by the natives of India in two hours and a half, with an application of heat, that, in this country, would be considered quite inadequate to produce such an effect, while at Sheffield it requires at least four hours to melt blistered steel in wind furnaces of the best construction, although the crucibles, in which the steel is melted, are at a white heat when the metal is put into them, and in the Indian process, the crucibles are put into the furnace quite cold.

I do not believe that the Indian process exercises any influence upon the quality of the steel; its only advantage appears to be that it enables the Hindú to accomplish an object with the very imperfect means of applying heat within his reach, which it would be altogether hopeless for him to attempt, were he to imitate the steps of the European process.

It seems probable that the selection of particular kinds of vegetable matter to afford carbon to the iron, may not be altogether a matter of fancy. The Indian steel-maker of course knows nothing of the theory of his operations: he is satisfied with knowing that he can convert iron into steel by fusing it with what he calls "medicine," and this medicine experience has taught him must be dried wood and green leaves; and as different woods and leaves very probably contain carburetted hydrogen in very different proportions, experience may have taught the Hindoo that he can make iron pass into the state of steel more quickly and with a smaller bulk of particular kinds of vegetable matter, than with others. The *Cassia auriculata* is the only wood I have ever seen used for the purpose; it contains a large quantity of the extract called catechu: the leaf of the *asclepias* contains an acrid milky juice: the leaf of the *convolvulus* is in no respect remarkable.

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ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

The Sixteenth Anniversary Meeting of this Society was held on the 11th of May, 1839.

The Right Hon. Sir Gore Ouseley, Bart., in the Chair.

THE ANNUAL REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

was read as follows:—

In submitting to the Meeting at its Sixteenth Anniversary, the customary Report, the Council feel called upon to congratulate the Society on its actual condition, as compared with that of former years, for it will be perceived, when we come to treat of its funds, that the future prospects, though not apparently so flourishing, are more clear, and in reality, more satisfactory. The actual state of the funds in January, 1838, called for reduction in our expenses: the Secretary's salary was abolished, only one number of the Journal has been published during the year, instead of four, as was at first intended; and a strict attention to economy has been exercised in other respects, so that the Society has been enabled to pay off some balances which remained due in the beginning of 1838, and to exhibit a surplus at the end of the year, free from all outstanding demands.

The number of deaths since the last Annual Meeting, among the members who have contributed to the funds of the Society, has been thirteen. The following is a list:—

1. Major Benjamin Blake.
2. Colonel Henry John Bowler.
3. The Right Honourable the Earl of Caledon, K.P.
4. Sir James Edward Colebrook, Bart.
5. John Curtis, Esq.
6. Lieutenant-Colonel William Francklin.
7. George Garrow, Esq.
8. The Right Honourable Sir Robert Grant, G.C.H.
9. Captain H. Harkness.
10. James Kinloch, Esq.
11. Vice-Admiral Sir Pulteney Malcolm, K.C.B.
12. George Holme Sumner, Esq.
13. Lieut.-General Sir Herbert Taylor, K.C.B. G.C.H.

Besides the above, the Council has to lament the demise of one of the corresponding Members of the Society, Mr. Justice Rough, one of the Judges of the Supreme Court of Ceylon, who lately presented ten pounds to promote the objects of this Institution; also, of one of its Foreign Members, Count Ludolf.

Of the deceased Members, two seem to merit particular observation as Oriental scholars.

The first is our late Secretary, Capt. HARKNESS, whose acquaintance with the languages of the South of India, and whose general information on Oriental subjects, entitled him to distinction, and peculiarly fitted him to fulfil the duties of the office which he so long held in this Society. We had occasion in our last Report to mention the loss of his valuable services, owing to the infirm state of his health, which compelled him to resign; and this year we have to add to our regret the sorrow which we all feel on the occasion of his death, and to lament the loss of one whose acquirements and zeal rendered him a valuable member of our Society.

The other learned Orientalist, whose death is announced with unfeigned sorrow, is Colonel FRANCKLIN, whose contributions to the literature of the East gave him a just title to the estimation of the Society, and to the possession of the office which he held in it.

In the year 1786, when an Ensign on the Bengal Establishment, Col. Francklin made a tour in Persia, in the course of which, he resided for eight months at the city of Shiraz, as an inmate of a Persian family, and was thus enabled to communicate a fuller account of the manners of the people than had before appeared. The Journal of his Tour was published in 1790. It was particularly interesting, as containing an authentic notice of the state of Persia during the Civil Wars which continued from the death of Nadir Shah to the elevation of the reigning dynasty of Kajar, whose first sovereign, Aga Mahommed Khân, though not actually on the throne during Colonel Francklin's residence in Persia, had possession of the greatest share of power among the Chiefs who were endeavouring to possess the crown.

Besides this, Colonel Francklin published the following interesting works:—

1. History of Shah Aulum, 1798.
2. Translation of Camarúpa and Cámalata, 1793.
3. Remarks on the Plain of Troy, 1800.
4. Memoirs of General George Thomas, 1803.
5. On the Site of Palibothra, 1815.
6. Remarks on the Jains and Boodhists, 1827.

His biography of Shah Aulum serves as an important continuation of the Seir ul Mutákherin, or History of Modern Times. The life of George Thomas, the celebrated English adventurer, who, for a short season, exhibited the character of an independent Indian Chief, is well executed; and his dissertations on the sites of Palibothra and Troy, entitle his memory to respect as a scholar of much research and ingenuity. In his capacity of

Librarian, and as a Member of the Council, he was always ready to render his valuable aid when his health permitted. During the latter years of his life he seemed to have few objects of pursuit, that were not in some way or other directed to promote the benefit of this Institution, and it is on this account as well as for his many excellent qualities and virtues, the Society has occasion most particularly to deplore his loss.

While the number of deaths of contributing members has this year been less than usual, the Council has to announce that the elections also have not been so numerous as on an average of years, amounting only to thirteen. The diminution, however, is not caused by an actual decrease, but arises out of a deviaton from the former practice, which took place at the last anniversary, when five elections of 1838 were included in the Report for 1837, which would, by the usual mode, have been reckoned in this year. The mean of the two years is equal to the usual yearly average, being twenty-three, so that the number of contributing members elected, counterbalances the loss occasioned by casualties. The number of retirements from the Society is four, which is less than the average of years.

The Council has now, for the first time, to remark upon the effect of the new regulation, passed in January, 1838, on the subject of non-payment of arrears, as well as the other measures adopted to prevent their recurrence. It is satisfactory to find that, with few exceptions, the arrears due have been liquidated. There still remain, however, eight members on the list of defaulters, who have frequently been applied to without success, but who have not paid their subscriptions for several years, and might long since have been considered as no longer enrolled in the Society.

It is satisfactory to be able to report that fewer of the Annual Subscribers are in arrear for the present year, than has been usual at the same season, on former occasions.

It is, perhaps, too early to attempt to form a decided opinion on the probable effect of the regulation passed in January, 1838, by which the amount of the composition of Life Members was placed on the same footing as in other similar Societies. The whole amount received during the year, on that account, has been under 90*l*., a sum much less than usual.

Among the most valuable of the Donations made last year to the Society's Museum, is a series of Coins of the Bactrian kingdom, presented by one of the Society's corresponding members, Monsieur Ventura, a General in the service of Runjít Singh. The discovery of the Bactrian coins, whose existence was unknown until very recently, will enable the antiquarian to fill up the history of an European dynasty, placed in the heart of Asia, more than twenty centuries ago, of which the ancient historians had left us scarcely an outline. The specimens in the Museum are selections from very many thousands which have been found in the country of the Affghans, and in the territories bordering on the Indus; and their vast numbers afford a much greater evidence of the influence of the Greeks in the East, than would be supposed from the few hints of their establishment to be gathered from ancient writers, or from the meagre traditions of their successors.

The state of the Society's funds has been already alluded to in the early part of the Report: the Council will now proceed to afford some explanation of the details. In the disbursements of the past year, will be found the following sums, paid on account of the preceding year, namely:—

	£	s.	d.
Half Year's Salary to the late Secretary -	£100	0	0
Printer's Bill for Journal No. VIII. - - - -	187	7	3
Repairs of House - - - - - - - - - - - -	44	13	0
Plumber's Bill - - - - - - - - - - - -	25	9	6
	£357	9	9

After which payments, a balance remained in hand at the end of the year of 296*l.* 3*s.* 3*d.*, out of which sum, payments to the extent of 233*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* have been made on account of outstanding bills, leaving a clear surplus available for the expenses of 1839 of 62*l.* 19*s.* 11*d.* Thus the actual receipts of the year have more than met the demands on the Society; and the estimate of the expenses and receipts of the ensuing year, exhibits a balance of 334*l.* 6*s.* 5*d.*, which will enable the Society to publish another number of the Journal during the year, if advisable, and to incur sundry expenses for book-binding and periodicals, which it has been thought prudent to defer till the Society had the means of defraying them from the actual income, without encroaching on the capital invested in the funds.

In adverting to the condition of the Oriental Translation Fund, an institution, the success of which must be a matter of interest to every Member of the Royal Asiatic Society, the Council are happy to state that it continues to enjoy the support of a large number of the patrons of Oriental literature, both at home and abroad; and that its operations are carried on with a zeal and activity fully commensurate to its means. The most recent of its publications are, two valuable Sanskrit works, with Latin translations; one translated by Dr. Stenzler, and entitled the "*Kumara Sambhava*," being an ancient Sanskrit poem, attributed to Kálidása, who flourished a century before the Christian era; the other, entitled the "*Rig Veda Sanhita*," a collection of sacred hymns from the Vedas, translated and edited by the lamented Dr. Rosen. To his translation the editor designed to add extensive critical annotations, but only a few sheets of them were finished at the time of his decease. The work is consequently deprived of the valuable additions contemplated by the learned editor; but, as it is, it remains a monument of his great philological acquirements, and of his laborious ardour in the study of this highly polished and classical language of India. The disappointment of the expectations of the Committee, occasioned by this melancholy event, will, however, be obviated by the kindness of Professor WILSON, who has undertaken to prepare a translation of the entire work into English, with notes illustrative of the peculiarities of the language of the original text, and of the religious system of the Védas.

The loss sustained both by the Royal Asiatic Society and the Oriental Translation Committee, in the decease of Dr. ROSEN, will long be deplored,

and his merits as a man and a scholar long remembered. The Committee recorded upon their minutes, and communicated to his father, the expression of their deep regret; and many Members, both of the Society and the Committee, readily subscribed a sufficient sum to erect a marble monument over his grave, as a small but due tribute to his memory.

Another volume of the Arabic Bibliographical Dictionary, edited and translated into Latin by Professor FLÜGEL, will appear in a few weeks, as will also the first volume of M. GARCIN DE TASSY'S *Histoire de la Littérature Hindoui et Hindoustani*, containing notices of many hundred Eastern authors and their writings, and evincing much acute and laborious research. Besides these, the printing of Mr. W. F. THOMPSON'S Translation of the Akhlak-i-Jelály, from the Persian of Fakír Jány Muhammad Asaad is completed. Mr. Thompson has entitled his work, *Practical Philosophy of the Muhammadan People, exhibited in its proposed connexion with the European, so as to render either an introduction to the other*, and to it are appended numerous explanatory notes and references. This translation cannot fail to be highly appreciated by all who take an interest in metaphysical and ethical studies.

Among the works in the course of printing by the Fund, may be mentioned the "Vishnu Purana," translated by our learned Director, a Member of the Oriental Translation Committee. Mr. Wilson's great attainments in Sanskrit are sufficiently well known to assure us that the task could not have fallen into hands more competent to do justice to this curious mythological work of the Hindus.

"*The History of the Muhammadan Dynasties in Spain*," translated into English from the Arabic of Ahmed Ibn Muhammad-al-Makári, by Señor P. de Gayangoz, is also in the press. A complete History of the Muhammadan Empire in Spain, has long been a desideratum in our historical literature, which will now be supplied. The work under notice, comprises a narrative of events during a period of nine centuries, that is, from the time of the invasion of Spain, in 710 of our era, to the final expulsion of the Moriscoes in 1610, and contains ample details of the manners, customs, and literature of the Western Arabs.

Of the works in the course of preparation for the press, we may notice an interesting History of the Ghaznavides, and of the conquests of Sultán Mahmúd of Ghazna, translated by the Reverend James Reynolds, from the Arabic work, called "Kitáb-al-Yamíní," by Abu Nasár Muhammad Ibn al-Jabbár Al-Utbí; also a translation by Professor Julien, of the "Li-ki," a celebrated Chinese work on morals.

The Committee have recently received a proposal from Baron Mac Guckin de Slane, of Paris, to translate into English IBN KHALLIKAN'S *Lives of Illustrious Men of Islamism*, the text of which has recently appeared under the editorship of the Baron. Dr. Sprenger has proposed a translation of EL SOUITHI'S *History of the Khalifs*. The list of works announced for translation under the auspices of the Committee, contains many other desirable works.

The Council are also aware that the Committee have received several

other proposals from eminent scholars, of translations of valuable works, which they are precluded from accepting, only because of their being already engaged in printing to the full amount of the funds at their disposal. It deserves remark, that the list of books published by the Committee, now comprises fifty-three works, most of which, it is probable, could never have been presented to the public but for the institution of this fund.

In their last Annual Report the Council noticed the establishment and early operations of the Committee of Commerce and Agriculture: the Council have now the pleasure to state that the Committee, having, in the course of the past year, been more fully organized, by the appointment, particularly of an Honorary Secretary, charged with the duties of that Committee solely, and of an Assistant and Chemical Analyzer, has prosecuted its labours with increased energy and success. Its proceedings have embraced the investigation of several products likely to prove highly valuable to the commerce and manufactures of India and England; and it has put in train various inquiries which will, they trust, lead to results still more interesting and important. The Council cordially unites with the Committee in ascribing its success chiefly to the labours of Dr. ROYLE and Mr. SOLLY: and the papers read, and communications made by both these gentlemen at the ordinary meetings of the Society during the present session, must have fully prepared its members to join in the acknowledgments which the Council has the satisfaction of conveying to them. The Council having requested the Chairman of the Committee (the Right Hon. HOLT MACKENZIE) to draw up a Report of its proceedings, which will be communicated to the meeting, deem it unnecessary to enter upon a detailed explanation of the various matters which have engaged its attention. It must be almost superfluous to add, that the Council attaches a high value to the services rendered by Mr. Mackenzie in the capacity of Chairman to this important Committee.

The time has arrived when the Council have been reminded by the Honorary Secretary of the Society, that the period for which he stipulated to perform the duty of that office is now at an end; and that he finds the revisal of a literary work he has now in hand incompatible with his further attendance to the duties of Secretary. In accepting his resignation, they feel bound to express their thanks to that gentleman for the trouble he has taken, and for the satisfactory manner in which he has conducted the duties of Secretary. But it is matter of congratulation to the Society, that another member, Mr. RICHARD CLARKE, who has been one of the most constant attendants of the Council and of the meetings for many years, and who has on all occasions shown his great zeal and desire to aid and benefit the Society in every way in his power, has consented to be put in nomination on the retirement of Major-General BRIGGS. The Council feel particularly indebted to Mr. Richard Clarke, for having consented to take the charge of the office of Honorary Secretary, notwithstanding that he already has an official situation, which necessarily occupies a great portion of his time. It would be difficult, if possible, to obtain a successor more competent to the duty; and the Council, therefore, feels no hesitation in recommending to the meeting that Mr. Richard Clarke be supported by its votes.

The Council has had occasion to advert before to the loss the Society has sustained in the death of their Librarian, Lieut.-Colonel FRANCKLIN; and the duty devolves on them to suggest a successor. In doing so they felt they could not bring to your notice for election a more proper person than Mr. JOHN SHAKESPEAR. His several predecessors have all of them resided for many years in the East, and were more or less familiar with the languages of Asia. Mr. Shakespear has not had the same advantage of acquiring the vernacular part of those tongues; but in the closet, and by an application not often surpassed, he stands pre-eminent amongst our countrymen for having a more extensive acquaintance with the languages of India than any one who has trod the same path; and the oriental student is deeply indebted to him for the labour he has bestowed in supplying him with elementary works of a high character. The Council, therefore, has no hesitation in soliciting the good will and votes of the meeting in favour of Mr. John Shakespear as Librarian.

In the Report of last year, advertence was had to the Memorial to our august Patron, which the Council had been induced to submit through the President of the India Board, in order to obtain public accommodation from the Government more suitable to the existing condition of the Society. The expectations raised by the gracious reception of the Memorial have not been realized. It was, however, deemed proper not to abandon the object which had so long engaged the attention of the Council; and as it appeared to the Council that the claim of the Society was not less strong upon the East India Company than upon the nation at large, it was resolved to make a direct and official appeal to the Court of Directors of the East India Company. A Memorial has been consequently prepared and transmitted to the Honourable Court. When the Council look around, and see the public encouragement and pecuniary aid given to other societies, the objects of which cannot be considered to possess more positive utility or national importance than those of the Asiatic Society, they will not allow themselves, even under disappointment, to despair of convincing the Court of Directors that the prayer of their Memorial deserves a deliberate and favourable consideration.

The following Report of the Financial Affairs of the Society was then read as follows:—

AUDITORS' REPORT.

THE Auditors have the honour to lay before the Meeting their Report upon the Accounts of the Society for the Year ending Dec. 31, 1838.

The Receipts for the year, as per Statement, No. I., leave a balance in favour of the Society at the end of 1838, of 296*l.* 3*s.* 3*d.*

The Auditors have been furnished by the Secretary with an estimate of the probable Receipts and Expenditure for the year 1839, by which it appears that the expected Receipts, including the balance of the preceding year, will be 1460*l.* 14*s.* 9*d.*, the disbursements, 1126*l.* 8*s.* 4*d.*, and the probable balance remaining at the end of 1839, 334*l.* 6*s.* 5*d.* (Vide Statement No. II.)

It remains only for the Auditors to express their entire approbation of the correct and perspicuous manner in which the accounts of the Society have been kept by Mr. ELLIOT, the Treasurer, and by Major-General BRIGGS, the Secretary.

The Assets of the Society remain the same as last year, viz.:—

Value of Stock in the Three per Cents. - -	£1800	0	0
Value of the Society's Library, Museum, Furniture, and Stock of Publications - -	3500	0	0
	£5300	0	0

(Signed)

LOUIS H. PETIT, — Auditor on the part of the Council.

W. H. SYKES,
H. S. GRÆME, — Auditors on the part of the Society.

LONDON, *May* 7, 1839.

STATEMENT No. I.

(*From January* 1*st to* 31*st December*, 1838.)

Dr.

RECEIPTS.	£.	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
From 121 Annual Subscriptions, at 3*l*. 3*s*.	381	3	0			
92 ditto ditto, at 2*l*. 2*s*. each -	193	4	0			
4 ditto ditto, (non-residents) -	8	8	0			
Arrears of Subscriptions received	109	4	0			
19 Admission Fees of New Members, at 5*l*. 5*s*. - - - -	99	15	0			
4 ditto ditto, (arrears) - -	21	0	0			
4 Compositions - - - - -	89	5	0			
Balance of a Composition - -	0	15	0			
				902	14	0
Annual Donation of the Hon. the East India Company - -				105	0	0
Publications sold - - - -	30	1	3			
Amount of Land-tax paid in error by the Society, and recovered from the Landlord - - - -	72	10	0			
Donation from Mr. Sergeant Rough	10	0	0			
Committee of Commerce and Agriculture for Books - - - -	2	10	0			
Dividend (half-year) on Stock in Three per Cents. - - - -	29	2	10			
				144	4	1
				1151	18	1
Balance in favour of Society on the 31st Dec., 1837, - - - - - -				170	19	2
				£1322	17	3

Assets:—£1942 17*s*. 1*d*. in Three per Cent. Consols.

Cr.

DISBURSEMENTS.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
By House-rent, one year - - -	225	5	0			
Salary of late Secretary, half-year, to 31st Dec., 1837 - - -	100	0	0			
Salaries and Wages - - -	187	10	0			
Collector's Commission - - -	35	0	0			
				547	15	0
Printer's Bill for Journal No. 8 -				187	7	3
Stationery and sundry Printing -	45	8	9			
Plumber's Bill (old Account) - -	25	9	6			
Repairs of House - - - -	44	13	0			
Sundry Disbursements - - -	45	0	11			
Imprests to Honorary Secretary for the payment of current Expenses, Taxes, Parochial Rates, Postages, Housekeeper's Wages, &c. - -	130	19	7			
				291	11	9
				1026	14	0
Balance in favour of the Society the 31st Dec., 1838 - - - - - -				296	3	3
				£1322	17	3

STATEMENT No. II.

Estimate of Receipts and Disbursements for 1839.

ESTIMATED RECEIPTS (fixed).	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
From 123 Annual Subscriptions, at 3*l.* 3*s.*	387	9	0			
97 ditto ditto, at 2*l.* 2*s.* each	203	14	0			
				591	3	0
Annual Donation from the East India Company				105	0	0
Three Dividends on Stock in Three per Cents.				87	8	6
				783	11	6
ESTIMATED RECEIPTS (contingent).						
Admission Fees and Subscriptions of Fifteen New Members	126	0	0			
Compositions of Resident and Non-resident Members	105	0	0			
Arrears of Subscription	100	0	0			
Publications sold	50	0	0			
				381	0	0
				1164	11	6
Balance in favour of the Society 31st Dec., 1838				296	3	3
				£1460	14	9

ESTIMATED DISBURSEMENTS (fixed).	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
By House-rent, one year,	220	5	0			
Rates and Taxes	50	0	0			
Salaries and Wages	221	0	0			
				491	5	0
ESTIMATED DISBURSEMENTS (contingent).						
Printing Journal No. IX., and for extra Copies of other Numbers, (due 1838)	208	16	1			
Sundry small Accounts	24	7	3			
				233	3	4
Printing Journal in 1839	150	0	0			
Repairs of House	24	0	0			
Books, Periodicals, and Bookbinding	50	0	0			
Postages and Carriages	20	0	0			
Petty Expenses per Housekeeper	45	0	0			
Stationery and Circulars	30	0	0			
Collector's Commission	38	0	0			
Coals	20	0	0			
Balance of Worsley bust Subscription	25	0	0			
				402	0	0
				1126	8	4
Probable Balance on 31st Dec., 1839				334	6	5
				£1460	14	9

J. Birch, Esq. moved "That the thanks of the Society be returned to the Auditors for their services; and that their Report, together with that of the Council, be received and printed in the Society's Proceedings."

The motion was seconded by T. T. Mardon, Esq., and carried unani mously.

The Right Hon. Sir Alexander Johnston, as Chairman to the Committee of Correspondence, stated to the Meeting the various points of inquiry which had engaged the attention of that Committee during the past year, and those to which it was now desirable their investigations should be directed.

When Sir Alexander had concluded, Colonel Galloway, in proposing a vote of thanks to the Right Hon. the Chairman of the Committee of Correspondence, observed, that any remark in regard to the deep interest and vast extent of the subjects so ably discussed in the speech they had just heard, would be quite unnecessary from him; and he was sure that the Meeting would go with him in admiration of the distinguished talent of Sir Alexander Johnston, who had so ably detailed the views of himself, and the Committee over which he most zealously presided: he therefore moved "That the thanks of the Society be voted to the Right. Hon. the Chairman of the Committee of Correspondence, and that he be requested to reduce his observations to writing, for the purpose of their being printed in the proceedings of the Society."

Colonel Miles seconded this motion, which, being put, was carried unanimously.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF COMMERCE AND AGRICULTURE.

The Right Hon. Holt Mackenzie, Chairman of the Committee of Commerce and Agriculture of the Society, then read the following Report from the Committee:—

The Council of the Society having desired me to prepare a succinct Report of the proceedings of the Committee of Commerce and Agriculture, during the past year, I have the honour to submit the following statement.

Soon after the last Anniversary Meeting, the Committee adopted an arrangement calculated to add essentially to its efficiency and usefulness. A separate Secretary was appointed, and an officer was added to the establishment, under the designation of Assistant and Chemical Analyser. It must be almost superfluous to say one word as to the importance of the services rendered by Dr. Royle, who undertook the duty of Secretary. As the institution of the Committee was mainly owing to his suggestions, so to his labours must chiefly be ascribed the value and reputation which attaches to its proceedings. He has been ably and zealously seconded by Mr. Solly, whose services the Committee considers itself singularly fortunate in obtaining, as their Assistant and Chemical Analyser; and the papers read, and communications made by both these gentlemen, in the course of the

past year, must have fully prepared the Society to join in the acknowledgments which the Committee have the satisfaction of conveying to them.

An abstract of the proceedings of the Committee to the end of the year 1838, carefully prepared by Dr. ROYLE, has been printed and distributed. Another similar abstract, completing the year's proceedings, will soon be ready for publication. From these it will be seen that the Committee's proceedings have embraced the investigation of several matters likely to prove highly important in their relation to the trade and agriculture of India, and to the commerce and manufactures of this country. Various inquiries have likewise been put in train, which it must necessarily take a considerable time to complete, but of which the Committee trusts the results will prove both beneficial and interesting. To enter on a full detail of particulars would be but uselessly to repeat the record of the Committee's transactions. It will be sufficient here to notice briefly the most important of the matters that have engaged their attention.

Foremost in general interest is the object of extending the supply, and improving the quality of the cotton produced in India. To accomplish this object, strenuous efforts are now making by various individuals in different parts of India; and it is the aim of the Committee to gather and arrange all the particulars relating to the culture of cotton, whether in that country or elsewhere, and whether connected with successful or unsuccessful speculations, that can lead to satisfactory conclusions as to the causes of success or failure, with advertence to all the varieties of soil, climate, and local position, in their effects upon the different kinds of cotton.

The Committee entertain a confident persuasion that there will soon be placed within the reach of practical agriculturists, such information as will enable them to proceed with their experiments, for the introduction into India of better varieties of the cotton plant, and for the improvement of the kinds already existing there, on fixed scientific principles. They have little or no doubt that measures so conducted must lead to success in the important object of relieving England from an absolute dependence on foreign and rival nations, for this which may be deemed almost a necessary of life to a large portion of our manufacturers. And an attention to the true principles of applied botany will supply a powerful security against those injudicious speculations by which much useless expense has been incurred, and the progress of improvement retarded.

The report furnished by Mr. HEATH of the proceedings adopted by Mr. HUGHES in Tinnevelly, and of those pursued by himself in the Salem district, is particularly deserving of attention, since it explains the progress and result of an experiment conducted on an extended scale, and with distinguished success.

To her Majesty's Foreign Office the Committee is indebted for a report by Mr. MOLYNEUX, Consul at Savannah, on the culture of cotton in Georgia, and for a collection of specimens of the soils from some of the principal cotton estates of that country, which have been analyzed by Mr. SOLLY.

An interesting communication has been received from Mr. MALCOLMSON, one of the members of the Committee, on the subject of cotton grown near

Paestum, in the kingdom of Naples, comprehending an account of the climate and soil. It was accompanied with a parcel of seeds, which, through the obliging kindness of Mr. W. B. Bayley, were transmitted to India by the over-land mail. The Committee earnestly invites similar communications from all members of the Society, or others who may take an interest in their objects, and who may have similar opportunities of promoting them.

The Committee was happy to find itself anticipated in the adoption of measures for the improvement of the machinery used in separating the cotton-wool from the seed, the subject having been taken in hand, apparently with much success, by the East India Association of Glasgow. But so much importance attaches to this point, as well as to all the processes connected with the collecting and cleansing of cotton-wool, that the Committee will continue earnestly to direct their attention to the subject.

Though the Committee has not yet taken any share in the measures which are in progress for the improvement and extended production of the great staple commodities of sugar, tobacco, and silk, it has not, of course, been indifferent to them. It contemplates with deep interest the important results likely to follow the general introduction of the Otaheite variety of sugar-cane, which (the Society is probably aware) was brought from the Mauritius by Captain Sherman, of the Bengal Establishment. In the Bengal territories this has been already accomplished to a great extent, with an assured prospect of great public benefit: and by a letter, dated 21st of February, 1839, and just received from the Secretary of the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of western India, the Committee has the satisfaction of learning that the cultivation of this cane is rapidly advancing in that quarter also, and that it is found immensely superior to the red cane of the country. The reports received from Bombay of the success of the efforts made at that presidency for the manufacture of silk, are also highly gratifying. The experiments made at that presidency by Mr. Alutta, for which he has received the gold medal of the Agricultural Society of India, may indeed be expected to have a very beneficial operation on the long-established and extensive manufacture of Bengal. In the above letter it is stated, that "the cultivation of the mulberry is extending rapidly in the Deckan." Specimens of silk of excellent quality have also been received from Travancore. The produce of the wild or Tusseh silkworm, in regard to which a paper, by Dr. Geddes, will be found in the Committee's proceedings, appears also to merit more attention than has hitherto been given to it.

Several interesting reports have been read by Mr. Solly, on the subject of oil and oil seeds; a matter of great importance, to which the attention of the Chairman of the Committee has been particularly solicited by Mr. Wickham, (now Chairman of the Board of Stamps and Taxes,) formerly one of the Commissioners of Inquiry into the Excise Laws. The cheap rate at which the oil seeds of India may be purchased, and (as might have been expected from the climate) the larger per centage of oil which they yield, even when subjected only to the imperfect pressure of the native mills, appears to render it certain that the commerce in these articles will greatly

and rapidly extend. The inquiries and experiments of the Assistant and Chemical Analyser in this branch of investigation have, in an especial manner, demonstrated the utility and importance of his office; and with his aid, the Committee confidently hope to be able to furnish complete information as to the qualities and uses of the several kinds of oil produced in India.

But before any conclusive statement can be given as to the application to the arts of those oils not hitherto used in this country, it is necessary that experiments should be made with larger quantities, which, though written for from India, have not as yet been obtained. The subject is so extensive as necessarily to require a considerable period for its full developement, even though all the materials were at hand. The inquiries instituted in India will, no doubt, afford valuable information relative to the prices at which the various oils and oil-seeds may be obtained in the different provinces of that country; respecting some of these, valuable information has been already supplied by Col. SYKES.

As connected with this subject, may be noticed the vegetable tallow of Canara, first described by Dr. BABINGTON, in 1825, in the Journal of the Royal Institution, on which a report by Dr. ROYLE, and an analytical description by Mr. SOLLY, will be found in the proceedings of the Committee. There seems to be no reason to doubt that it would afford an excellent substitute for animal tallow, now largely imported from Russia, if it can, as is hoped, be produced in sufficient abundance: on this point, further inquiries have been instituted by the Committee.

The vegetable butter of the Almorah Hills—on the subject of which, papers by M. TRAIL and Mr. H. NEWNHAM were read to the Society, accompanied by an analysis by Mr. SOLLY—may also be noticed in this place as an object of curious inquiry.

The varied and extensive uses to which caoutchouc is now applied, render highly important the facts and observations communicated by Dr. ROYLE, Mr. SIEVIER, and Mr. SOLLY, in their papers on that product, which is now, (it is satisfactory to observe,) quoted in the Trade Reports of Bengal, as a regular export from that presidency, and may doubtless be procured in other parts of British India from some one of the numerous plants that yield it. It seems to be quite certain that the use of this valuable and anomalous substance, when supplied abundantly and at a moderate price, will be very greatly extended. Its various applications are already among the most curious results of that ingenious and instructed industry which characterize and enrich our country. The excellent quality of that obtained from Assam is fully established by the authority of Mr. SIEVIER; and there is no doubt that any defects which have hitherto attached to the mode of its preparation will be speedily remedied, on which head the Committee is indebted to Mr. SOLLY and Mr. SIEVIER for some valuable suggestions. The supply to be drawn from Assam alone appears to be almost inexhaustible. It is stated that an individual has collected in one season no less than 80,000 pounds. The letters of Dr. WALLICH, Captain JENKINS, Mr.

Brownlow, and Dr. King, describe the trees as abounding in that province*; and Lieut. Vetch, the officer who is in charge of one of its divisions, counted in the space of a square mile eighty trees, mostly of gigantic dimensions, one of them being described as measuring seventy-four feet round the inner cluster of trunks, one hundred and twenty feet round the outer trunks, and seven hundred feet round the branches. And it is stated that Captain Blake, proceeding with a mission to Bhotan, had written that, "for days they were marching through forests of India-rubber trees of enormous size."

Considering these circumstances, and reflecting on the probable results of the extended cultivation of tea in the same province, the Committee cordially sympathises in the feelings of generous exultation with which the local officers contemplate the enlightening prospects of a province which, notwithstanding the magnificent river that flows through it, had, from its want of population and its extensive jungles, been considered to be in the most hopeless condition.

The exudation of the Dhak or Palas-tree, (*Butea frondosa*,) on the subject of which papers were read by Dr. Royle and Mr. Solly, though differing in some particulars from the Kino at present found in the shops, agrees in a remarkable manner with the description of the original Kino, or "Gummi rubrum Astringens" of the old druggists, appears likely to serve all the purposes of that substance; and if, as there is every reason to believe, it can be procured cheaply and abundantly, may ultimately become an article of extensive application in the arts. In the letter alluded to above, as received from Bombay, it is stated, that a considerable quantity of the Butea Kino has been purchased for transmission to this country, in consequence of the information sent by our Secretary respecting its nature and suitableness for tanning.

The substance which has long been employed by the natives of India for the same purposes as sarsaparilla in Europe, having been traced, by Dr. Royle, to a plant from which it may be obtained in large quantities, and at a cheap rate, will also probably be brought into more general use.

The reports which have been furnished by the Agricultural and Horticultural Society at Bombay, and by Mr. Gibson and Dr. Lush, of the Medical Establishment of that presidency, on the productions of western India, will be found to contain, in a condensed form, much interesting and valuable information, with several suggestions, which, if duly prosecuted, can scarcely fail to lead to very useful results. And it may be proper to take this opportunity of calling attention to the suggestion of Dr. Royle, that when gentlemen abroad send any of the products of the country in which they reside, they should, with the native names of the plants and their products, at the same time furnish perfect specimens of the plants producing them, that is, in flower and fruit; and to his observation, that specimens, even of old and well-known plants, are valuable from a new locality. By an attention to these suggestions, travellers may often contribute essen-

* A full account of the tree has been published by Mr. Griffiths, in the Journal of the Asiatic Society.

tially to the store of scientific knowledge, with a comparatively small expense of time or labour.

Many important additions to our knowledge may be expected from all parts of India, in reply to the inquiries which have been addressed by Dr. ROYLE to different gentlemen in Calcutta, Northern India, and Bombay; and the Honourable the Court of Directors, has obligingly given orders for the preparation, in a form suggested by the Committee, of Price Currents for the chief marts, and for one or two other places in each of the great divisions of the country, which promise to be very useful and interesting, both as a guide to commercial enterprise, and as a contribution to the store of statistical knowledge.

Specimens of what are called Dekhan and Concan Hemps, said to be the fibre of the Crotalaria Juncea, and of Hibiscus Cannabinus, have been received from Bombay, and are reported, especially the latter, to be of good quality. It is the intention of the Committee to make a full inquiry into the subject of hemp, and of the different substances which have been used or suggested as substitutes for that article, there being reason to think that an abundant supply of a product not inferior to that for which we depend upon Russia, may be procured in India.

The Society is aware of the important and interesting fact, that a considerable quantity of Tea, the produce of Assam, has been imported into this country from Bengal. In the proceedings of the Committee will be found recorded a paper by Mr. BROWN, detailing the particulars of an experiment on the growth of the tea-plant in the district of Wynaad; and although it was not prosecuted so far as to justify any conclusive opinion as to the ultimate result of an attempt to extend the culture of tea to that province, it may assuredly be taken to afford ground for further inquiry and trial, of which the consequences may be very important.

It will be in the recollection of the Society, that communications of much interest on the subject of Indian Iron and Steel were submitted to it by Mr. WILKINSON and Mr. HEATH. It is satisfactory to learn that the efforts of a Company, of which the latter gentleman has long been the leading Director, are likely to be successful in making these metals important articles of commerce from India to England. And there is at the same time reason to hope that their operations may also tend to the cheap supply of improved implements and extended machinery in the former country.

The Committee of Correspondence having applied to the Governor of Ceylon, for information respecting the uses and places of growth of 255 kinds of Ceylonese woods, a reply has been received, which is recorded on the proceedings of the Committee, and which is important as indicating the extent of the unexplored resources of the island.

In pursuance of communications received from Mr. VISGER, different kinds of Lichens have been obtained from various quarters, some of which promise to be of considerable value. But the quantity hitherto received has not been sufficient to allow of such experiments being made as to afford the grounds of a conclusive judgment on the matter. The Committee will of course continue to prosecute the inquiry.

From the experiments made by Mr. SOLLY, on a specimen of Berberry-root received from Ceylon, and deposited in the Museum of the Society, there is good reason to think that the Asiatic Berberry will yield an excellent yellow dye, and may probably become an advantageous article of import from India. Mr. SOLLY's suggestion, that the colouring matter, which constitutes a small portion only of the root, should be extracted in India, and the inspissated extract only be brought to Europe, will doubtless receive attention from commercial men. Under this head also the Committee would notice the suggestions of Dr. LUSH and Mr. SOLLY, on the subject of Citric Acid.

In a communication received from Bengal, it was stated that the true Cochineal Insect had been procured from the Island of Bourbon; and the Committee were consequently invited to obtain and furnish scientific information regarding the insect and its food. Their Secretary was at the same time informed that Mr. ANDERSON, of the Botanic Garden at Chelsea, had in his possession the above-mentioned insect, and the "Cactus," on which it feeds, which a lady was desirous of sending to a relative in Calcutta, and was requested to move the Committee to give their assistance in procuring a safe conveyance. To these applications the Committee gladly acceded, and have since had the gratification of hearing that both the plant and insects arrived in Calcutta in a living state, and that the Agricultural Society of India awarded a silver medal to the gentleman, Mr. H. BARCHARD, who took charge of the insect and plant.

It appears that Wool has already become a considerable article of export to this country from Bombay, the quantity shipped from that port in 1837 having been nearly two and a-half millions of pounds; and measures have been adopted, both by the Government and by individuals, for the improvement of the breed of sheep in different quarters. The Committee was consequently led, by communications received from Mr. SOUTHEY, an eminent wool-broker, who has long turned his attention to the growth of wool in South Australia, and at the Cape of Good Hope, to institute a particular inquiry into the subject. They have received many useful suggestions from that gentleman; and have also been favoured with valuable information on the subject by Lord WESTERN, who has successfully devoted much of his time and thoughts to this branch of husbandry, and has evinced a lively interest in the prosecution of it in India. But the matter is not yet in such a shape as to enable them to place on record a detail of the actual or probable results.

Various subjects of minor importance have engaged the Committee, either as matter of immediate examination here, or as objects of inquiry abroad. At this stage of their proceedings, however, it cannot be expected that they should have been able to procure full and satisfactory information on all the points to which they have solicited the attention of their correspondents, or directed their own efforts.

They continue to receive from many quarters gratifying assurances of co-operation and support, especially from the kindred Associations of Bengal and Bombay. But they have deeply to lament, in the death of Mr. BELL,

late Secretary to the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of Calcutta, the loss of a valuable correspondent and coadjutor. It is satisfactory, however, to know that Dr. Spry has been appointed his successor, a gentleman who is well known as an author, and personally to several members of this Society as a scientific and zealous labourer in pursuit of the objects now under review.

On the last Anniversary the Society were informed that their original Treasurer, Mr. James Alexander, had been compelled by infirm health to resign that office. The lively interest he took in the agricultural and commercial branch, induced him, however, to continue his kind services to it till a very late period, when he felt compelled to resign that duty also. On the occasion of sending in his resignation, through Sir Charles Forbes, he thus, in a letter addressed to that gentleman, expresses himself on the subject of the Committee: "I feel persuaded that its pursuits and knowledge may be of the greatest advantage in developing the resources of India, and in introducing from thence many valuable substances calculated to improve and enlarge our commerce and manufactures. In short, I see in its labours and operations what may materially add to the wealth and the industry of both countries; and it is with pain that I cease to co-operate personally and actively with a Committee for whose members I have great respect, and in whose objects I heartily concur. * * * *

"I have followed the excellent example of our able Chairman, and yours, by giving 20*l.* for the purpose of being awarded in prizes to native authors of essays on any of the arts of India." * * * *

The sentiments of one who, like Mr. James Alexander, was many years resident in India, and who has been long and intimately connected with its commerce, appear to be so important and valuable, that the Committee has thought it proper to bring them thus distinctly to the notice of the Society.

Mr. L. H. Petit said that he felt much pleasure in moving a vote of thanks to the Right Honourable Holt Mackenzie, whose luminous detail was an additional instance of the well-known and duly appreciated talents which distinguished that gentleman: he moved "That the thanks of the Society be voted to the Right Honourable the Chairman of the Committee of Commerce and Agriculture, for his valuable services in that office."

T. Phillips Esq., seconded the motion, which was carried unanimously.

Mr. Mackenzie thanked the meeting for the vote now passed, observing that it was gratifying to him, not so much as a compliment to himself, though of the value of such a compliment he could not be insensible, as a testimony of their sense of the importance of the Committee, of which he had the honour to be Chairman. He felt that he could claim but a small share of the merit due to it, and must repeat that, as stated in the reports they had just heard, the value of its labours must be mainly ascribed to Dr. Royle and Mr. Solly. He might almost say, indeed, that too much had been cast upon these gentlemen; and he trusted that the interest which the members of the Society took in the Committee would be shown by their contributing more largely than they had yet done to its transactions. He remarked on the facilities which many of them possessed for communi-

cating information that would be highly important and useful, at a small expense of time and labour; observing that a single interesting fact, or a single sample of a new variety of any useful substance, in however informal a manner communicated, would be gladly received and eagerly turned to use by the Committee.

In so vast a field as that embraced by them, it was only, he said, by the co-operation of many labourers, and by labours pursued through many years, that the objects of the Committee could be attained. They had as yet only broken ground; but he hoped that enough had been done to show the importance, the value, and the practicability of what they aimed at. With this confidence, and with the gratification of knowing that their transactions had been regarded with much interest in various quarters, he should, on retiring from the chair at the expiration of his year, look back on what had been done with great satisfaction. From this satisfaction there was, he lamented to say, one heavy drawback; he meant the disappointment of their just expectations of the favour and support of Government. He had hoped that the labours of the Committee would have strengthened the already strong claims of the Society, and that before this time they should have been able to congratulate one another on the prospect of meeting, no longer within the narrow chambers of a private house, but in a hall suited to the character of the Society, and to the great public interests which it was designed and calculated to promote. He need scarcely state to the meeting that the possession of such a building was essential to the efficiency of the Society. An extensive Library and Museum were its indispensable instruments; but they had not the means of fitly displaying even what they already possessed, and they had lost the opportunity of acquiring more by their wanting suitable accommodation for it. Looking to the extent and nature of our Eastern Empire, and to the important services which the Royal Asiatic Society could render, as an interpreter between the two countries, it was with shame, and indignation, and sorrow, that he contemplated the indifference with which the people of this country regarded, and the niggard spirit in which the Government treated them. He did not, however, despair of better things; and would venture humbly to urge upon every member of the Society, the duty of co-operating, each in his own sphere, with the efforts of the Council to secure the just and liberal recognition of their claims to public support.

Before sitting down he begged leave to read an extract from the Botanical Register of March last, edited by Dr. LINDLEY, Professor of Botany in University College and the Royal Institution of Great Britain. The terms, he observed, in which Dr. LINDLEY did them the honour of mentioning them were such as he could not have himself used without risk of being charged with exaggeration. But the testimony of Dr. LINDLEY in their favour could not fail to be gratifying to them, especially as it came after the expression of those feelings of regret which he had not been able to restrain in speaking of the failure of their application to the Government; and it was the praise of literary and scientific men which a literary and scientific Society must chiefly value.

In the paper in question, the abstract of the Committee's proceedings is spoken of as a most important and interesting document; the names of Sir CHARLES FORBES, General BRIGGS, Colonel SYKES, Dr. ROYLE, &c. are quoted as proofs of the importance attached to the subject, and of the excellent materials of the sub-association. Its operations are described, their necessity urged, the vast resources of British India are noticed, the neglect with which they have hitherto been treated is adverted to, and the products investigated by the Committee are specified. The author adds, "In all these branches India possesses ample resources well adapted to commercial purposes," and concludes in the following words:—"It is to be hoped that such an inquiry as this will be amply supported, for it is when applied to such purposes as are comprehended in the investigations of the Committee, that science really becomes of value to mankind. If the Committee continue their exertions with energy and discretion for only a few years they will have done more to make India wealthy and happy than all the other devices of state policy put together."

J. LEWIN, Esq. moved, "That the thanks of the Society be voted to the Council, for their zealous services during the past year."

Seconded by T. NEWNHAM, Esq., and carried unanimously.

The Earl of MUNSTER, who had arrived too late to take the Chair, returned thanks as one of the Vice-Presidents, in the name of the Council. His Lordship regretted that engagements which he could not neglect, had caused his absence during the earlier part of the day; but he assured the meeting that although absent his heart was with them, and he trusted that his joining them, even at that late hour, would be taken as a proof of his desire to be present. Assuring the meeting that he always had taken, and should continue to take, the liveliest interest in their proceedings, his Lordship concluded by offering, on behalf of the Council, his best thanks for the vote which had been passed.

Sir ALEXANDER JOHNSON moved "That the thanks of the Society should be voted to the President, the Right Honourable C. W. WILLIAMS WYNN, M. P.," on whose merits it was unnecessary for him to enlarge. They all knew the interest he had taken in the Society; he had never before been absent from an Anniversary Meeting, nor would he have been so now had he not been called from London by urgent public duties.

The motion was seconded by H. S. GRÆME, Esq., and carried unanimously

CHARLES ELLIOTT, Esq., moved a vote of thanks to the Director and Vice-Presidents of the Society, which was seconded by SAMUEL BALL, Esq., and carried unanimously.

S. WARE, Esq., rose to move the thanks of the Society to the late Honorary Secretary, General BRIGGS. He was sorry that General BRIGGS was absent through ill health, and he regretted that the Society were about to lose his valuable services. He was, however, happy to learn that they should still retain him as a member of the Council; and that, although he could no longer perform the duties of Secretary, he would continue to devote his leisure to the cultivation of Asiatic pursuits.

W. OLIVER, Esq., seconded the motion, which was carried unanimously.

Richard Clarke, Esq., proposed a vote of thanks to the Treasurer of the Society, Charles Elliott, Esq., who, he observed, was peculiarly entitled to that mark of their favour; for having been a member of the Committee that first drew the attention of the meeting to the unfavourable state of the Society's finances, he had, since his appointment to the office of Treasurer, devoted his attention to the carrying out of those necessary measures of reform which had enabled the Society to attain the greatly improved condition exhibited in the financial statement they had heard that day.

While on his legs, Mr. Clarke said he would avail himself of that opportunity of expresing his high sense of the honour conferred upon him by the Council, who had put him in nomination as their Honorary Secretary. While he felt unfeigned diffidence in undertaking the task in succession to so able an officer of the Society as General Briggs had shown himself to be, he felt his task lightened by the perfect order in which everything had been placed by that gentleman. He could not, however, but consider the office as one in which much might be done to further the interest of the Society by one possessed of more leisure, of greater abilities, and a wider sphere of influence than he could boast. Such as his powers might be, he should feel happy in exercising them for the benefit of the Society; but he should be ready to resign the post whenever the Society should, as he hoped they would, find a more efficient, though he would add, not a more willing officer than himself.

The Right Honourable Holt Mackenzie seconded the vote of thanks to the Treasurer, and added, that in bearing testimony to the services of that gentleman, he was sorry to say he must also vouch for the necessities of the Society, which had demanded all his care and economy. The Society, it was satisfactory to know, was not in any pressing financial difficulty. But it should be recollected they had not attained their freedom from embarrassment, (not to mention those liberal donations which would be in the recollection of the Society,) without curtailing their publications, and withholding all pecuniary remuneration for the services rendered by their Secretaries. He trusted, therefore, that all would bear in mind that the Society not only had no surplus funds, but that it wants help; and that every exertion should be made to obtain larger resources.

The vote of thanks to the Treasurer was then put, and carried unanimously.

Mr. Elliott returned thanks.

The Chairman then stated to the meeting that the Council had resolved to recommend for election, as an honorary member, his Highness Nawa'b Ikba'l al Dowlah Bahadoor, Prince of Oude, whose portrait was now before them. The admission of the Prince would be an honour to the Society, for he (the Chairman) could bear witness his Highness was a scholar deeply versed in Persian and Arabic literature, and that his habits and manners were those of a prince and a gentleman.

His Highness was then balloted for, and unanimously elected an honorary member of the Society.

H. Wilkinson, Esq., and W. Newnham, Esq., having been nominated

Scrutineers, the meeting proceeded to ballot for the new members of the Council and for the officers of the Society.

At the close of the ballot the following gentlemen were declared unanimously elected into the Council, viz., Samuel Ball, Esq., General Briggs, the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone, Colonel Galloway, Henry S. Græme, Esq., John Guillemard, Esq., Sir Joseph O'Halloran, Colonel Sykes, in the place of W. B. Bayley, Esq., Sir J. Carnac, Bart., R. Clarke, Esq., Right Honourable H. Ellis, Sir Charles Forbes, Bart., W. Newnham, Esq., L. H. Petit, Esq., and Sir Henry Willock.

Richard Clarke, Esq., was unanimously elected to the office of Honorary Secretary in the place of General Briggs, resigned; and John Shakespear, Esq., to the office of Librarian, in succession to Colonel Francklin, deceased.

On the Chairman's leaving the chair it was moved, seconded, and voted unanimously, that the thanks of the meeting be given to the Right Honourable Sir Gore Ouseley, Bart., for his able conduct in the chair that day.

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APPENDIX.

1838.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

December 2, 1837. A General Meeting of the Society was held this day; the Right Hon. the President of the Society in the Chair.

Donations were presented; and thanks returned to the respective donors.

A letter from James Prinsep, Esq., Secretary to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, dated the 14th of June last, was read, expressive of the thanks of that Society for the endeavours which the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society, and the Committee of the Oriental Translation Fund, had made to promote the success of the Memorial of the Bengal Society to the Home Authorities, on the subject of the withdrawal of the Government patronage and support in the publication of Oriental works of standard merit.

Read the translation of a letter from Professor Gesenius, dated Halle, 31st of May, 1837, expressing his obligations to the Society for the assistance it had afforded him in collecting materials for his illustrations of Phœnician Inscriptions; and stating, that as a mark of the high estimation in which he held the Society for its encouragement of Oriental Literature, he had taken the liberty to dedicate his work to it, jointly with the Prussian Royal Academy of Literature.

Robert Wallace, Esq., was elected a Resident Member of the Society.

William Newnham, Esq., read to the Meeting an extract from the private Journal of Lieutenant H. Dawson, R. N., describing a remarkable phenomenon, called the "White Sea," observed by him in a voyage from Bombay to the Persian Gulf.

Henry Wilkinson, Esq., read a paper on the History of the Invention of Gunpowder.

The thanks of the Society were returned to Mr. Newnham and Mr. Wilkinson for their communications.

DECEMBER 16, 1837. PROFESSOR WILSON, the Director of the Society, in the Chair.

SOLOMON CÆSAR MALAN, Esq., was elected a Resident Member.

H. WILKINSON, Esq., read to the Meeting a paper on the Manufacture of Gunpowder; and the thanks of the Society were returned to him for the same.

JANUARY 6, 1838. The DIRECTOR of the SOCIETY in the Chair.

The Right Rev. DANIEL WILSON, D.D., Lord Bishop of Calcutta, was elected a Non-resident Member.

THOMAS FOX, Esq. and LIEUTENANT-GENERAL W. THORNTON, were elected Resident Members.

The Director read a letter which had been addressed to him by JOHN SHAKESPEAR, Esq., and which accompanied a translation of a remarkable Inscription in the Collection of the Society, in Arabic characters, curiously contorted, and written with a Chinese pencil.

Read an extract of a letter communicated by Sir CHARLES FORBES, from LIEUTENANT GEORGE FULLJAMES, of the Bombay Army, dated the 1st of June, 1836, describing some collections of fossil remains, &c., which he had procured in the island of Perim.

A paper on the Ante-Brahmanical Worship of the Hindús in the Dekhan, by Dr. JOHN STEVENSON, was read, together with a note on the same by Dr. WILSON.

A letter from H. WEEKS, Esq. was read, announcing that the bust of the late H. T. Colebrooke, Esq., Director of the Society, was completed under the superintendence of Sir Francis Chantrey.

JANUARY 20, 1838. The DIRECTOR of the SOCIETY in the Chair.

The Chairman informed the Members present that the Meeting was made special, for the purpose of receiving the Report of a Finance Committee, assembled by order of the Council; and for the purpose of proposing alterations in Articles XLVII. and LIII. of the Society's Regulations.

The Report of the Finance Committee, held on the 12th of July last, was then read; and the following Propositions were put to the Meeting, and carried unanimously:—

1. That in the XLVIIth Article of the Regulations of the Society, in place of the words, "Upon election, by the payment of," the following be substituted,—namely, "Upon election, in lieu of annual sub-

scriptions, by the payment of;" and that in the two next lines, the words "twenty-five" and "twenty," be substituted for "twenty" and "fifteen."

2. That the following clauses be added to Article LIII.:—"If the arrears be not discharged by the 1st of January following such application, the Subscriber's name as a defaulter shall be suspended in the meeting-room, and due notice be given him of the same. The name shall remain thus suspended, unless in the interval the arrears be discharged, until the Anniversary Meeting next ensuing; when, if the subscription be not paid, it shall be publicly announced that the defaulter is no longer a Member of the Society, and the reason shall be assigned."

John Bowman, Esq., was elected a Non-resident Member.

Gideon Colquhoun, Esq., was elected a Resident Member.

A letter from B. H. Hodgson, Esq., dated from Nepal, on the Gauri Gau of the Saul Forest, was read; and thanks were ordered to be returned for the communication.

February 3, 1838. The Right Hon. the President of the Society in the Chair.

Read a letter from D. Forbes, Esq., explanatory of the contents of a Persian MS., which he had presented to the Society.

A paper by Lieutenant Postans, on the Kánphatis of Cutch, was read.

A Dissertation on the Ruins of Gúmli, in Kattywar, by Captain Jacob, was read.

Henry Laver, Esq., was elected a Resident Member.

February 17, 1838. William B. Bayley, Esq. in the Chair.

Colonel Briggs read extracts from a Biographical Notice, which he had drawn up from various authorities, of the Sherley Family, two of whom had resided at the Court of Persia at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and had been Ambassadors to England from Shah Abbas.

During the reading of these extracts Colonel Briggs drew the attention of the Meeting to two portraits of Sir Anthony and Sir Robert Sherley, a bust of the former, and a portrait of the Lady Theresia, wife of the latter; and stated that they were the property of Lord Western, who had most liberally been at the expense of sending them from his seat in Essex, on purpose for exhibition to the Society on that day.

It was moved, seconded, and carried unanimously,—

That the best thanks of the Meeting be conveyed to LORD WESTERN for his kindness; and that to give other Members an opportunity of seeing the pictures and bust, his Lordship be requested to allow them to remain in the Society's rooms till after the next Meeting.

Also,

That the thanks of the Meeting be given to COLONEL BRIGGS, for the Memoir he had just read.

MARCH 3, 1838. The DIRECTOR of the SOCIETY in the Chair.

Among the donations were the Despatches, Minutes, &c., of the MARQUIS WELLESLEY, five volumes 8vo., presented by the Marquis; for which the special thanks of the Society were ordered to be returned.

PROFESSOR ROYLE read a paper on the subject of some Indian Drugs.

Mr. NORRIS, the Assistant Secretary, read some notes which he had made on certain Batta MSS., exhibited to the Meeting.

The Right Hon. Sir CHARLES EDWARD GREY, M. P., was elected a Resident Member.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL SHIEL and MIRZA SALIH, were elected Corresponding Members.

MARCH 17, 1838. The Right Hon. the PRESIDENT of the SOCIETY in the Chair.

PROFESSOR WILSON read the first part of an account of the *Foe Kue Ki*, or Travels of a Chinese Buddhist priest in India, at the close of the fourth century of the Christian era, translated into French by M. Remusat.

APRIL 7, 1838. The Right Hon. the PRESIDENT of the SOCIETY in the Chair.

Read a letter from MAJOR RAWLINSON, dated at Teheran, the 1st of January ult., on the subject of his Antiquarian Researches in Persia.

PROFESSOR ROYLE read some extracts from communications he had recently received from Dr. SPRY, in Bengal, relative to the cultivation of Caoutchouc in India, for the home market; and also, to the cultivation of Tea in Assam.

The DIRECTOR of the SOCIETY concluded the reading of his paper on the Travels of the Chinese Buddhist Priest, commenced at the preceding meeting.

Captain Sir John Ross, R.N.; Sir Henry Willoughby, Bart.; and Charles Forbes, Esq., were elected Resident Members.

The Right Hon. the President addressed (through D. Urquhart, Esq.) the Turkish Ambassador, who was present at this meeting, and suggested that His Highness the Sultan be proposed to the Society for election as an Honorary Member.

The Ambassador replied, that he should be happy to convey to his master, the Sultan, an intimation of the intention of the Society; but requested that the proposition of the President should not be carried into effect till an answer had been received from the Sultan.

April 21, 1838. The Director of the Society in the Chair.

Captain George Edward Westmacott, and Thomas Samuel Rawson, Esq., were elected Resident Members.

Lieutenant E. W. Cartwright, was elected a Non-Resident Member.

Major Rawlinson was elected a Corresponding Member.

Professor Royle read a paper explanatory of various specimens of Indian produce, consisting of seeds, gums, silks, cordage, &c., which had been transmitted to the Society from Bengal in furtherance of the objects of the Committee of Agriculture and Commerce. He also produced some drawings of various specimens of fish, reptiles, and mollusca, obtained by Dr. Cantor in the north-eastern part of the Bay of Bengal.

May 12, 1838. The Fifteenth Anniversary Meeting of the Society took place this day at one o'clock, the Right Hon. the President in the Chair.

E. J. Harrington, Esq.; the Rev. J. Reynolds; Major C. P. Kennedy; and J. D. Nicol, Esq., were elected Resident Members.

Munmohundass Davidass, and Aga Mahomed Jaffer, were elected Non-Resident Members.

THE ANNUAL REPORT

of the Council was read by the Honorary Secretary, as follows:—

It is customary to draw the attention of the Society, at our Anniversary Meetings, to its actual condition as compared with that of the former year; and the alterations produced by casualties, or accession of numbers, usually form the first topic for consideration.

It is a melancholy task at all times to advert to the changes which death annually effects; but this duty on the present occasion is rendered particularly so, when we reflect that the Society, since the last Anniversary

has been deprived of its late Most Gracious PATRON, and the nation of a SOVEREIGN, who was as deeply lamented as he was universally beloved. While the Society, however, has to lament the bereavement it has thus suffered, it is a source of consolation that her present MAJESTY, the munificent supporter of every Institution in which public utility is apparent, has been graciously pleased to signify her assent to become the Patroness of the Society.

With respect to the casualties among our Members, it is satisfactory to find that the number is smaller than the average of years. They are,

William Camac, Esq.
William Daniell, Esq.
George Fraser, Esq.
Sir Abraham Hume, Bart.
Colonel James Michael,
W. A. Morgan, Esq.
Major-General J. Salmond,
Major Charles Stewart,
John Stuart Sullivan, Esq.
The Rev. Dr. Samuel Watson.

Among these the Council will advert only to two or three of those who have been most distinguished through life.

Major-General SALMOND, though not an Oriental scholar, is known to the Society for his long and faithful public services. He went out to India as a cadet in the year 1781; and served with credit in the Mysore war in 1792. He came back to England on furlough in 1794; and assisted in the formation of those regulations which remodelled the whole Indian army in 1796, and by which it has been ever since in a great measure governed. On his again proceeding to India, he became Military Secretary to Marquess Wellesley, then Governor-General; and subsequently filled the important office of Military-Auditor-General in Bengal. He returned to England in 1803; and had retired from public life, when his services were again put in requisition, and he was nominated Military Secretary to the East India Company in 1809. This situation he filled with credit to himself for twenty-eight years, and with such satisfaction to his employers, that on his retirement a few months ago, the Honourable the Court of Directors presented him with a piece of plate of the value of 500*l.*

Thus, after a lengthened period of fifty-six years of almost unremitted exertions, he withdrew from office full of years; and carried with him into private life the respect of his honourable masters, and the esteem of his acquaintances. He was not, however, permitted long to enjoy this change, for he had scarcely retired from his official labours before he sank into the grave.

Mr. WILLIAM DANIELL, a distinguished Member of the Royal Academy, will be remembered with regret by those who have admired the brilliancy with which he pourtrayed the features of Oriental scenery, and the manners and customs of the natives of India. He had lately published a prospectus of a new edition of his uncle's well-known labours in the same field, when his sudden demise prevented the completion of a work, which would no doubt have added reputation to the memory of both these eminent artists.

Major Charles Stewart, at an early period, executed a very important task in the excellent Catalogue he furnished of the library of Tipú Sultán, comprising a number of MSS. in the Arabic, Persian, and Hindústani languages. His Collection of Persian Letters, with fac-similes; and his Analysis of the several Alphabets used in Persian and Arabic writing, are valuable to the student in those tongues; while the History of Bengal, and the translation of other Persian works, concur to give Major Stewart a distinguished place among Oriental scholars.

In the death of Dr. Rosen, who, by a protracted residence in this country, and habits of friendly intercourse with many of our Members, had become intimately known to most of us, and was consequently as highly regarded for his amiable manners as admired for his extensive acquirements, the Society, as well as Oriental literature, has suffered an irreparable loss. Dr. Rosen performed gratuitously the duties of Foreign Secretary to the Society, and took an active personal interest in all its proceedings. He was a Member of the Oriental Translation Committee, as well as a most valuable contributor to the publications of the Oriental Translation Fund. In 1831, he edited and translated into English the Arabic work on Algebra, of Mohammed ben Musa; but this, however difficult a task, was but a diversion from the greater labour which he had undertaken, the translation of the Rig Veda from Sanskrit into Latin; and its publication under the patronage of the Committee. The text of the first portion of this curious and ancient work he lived to complete; and he had also prepared and printed a number of learned Notes, illustrative chiefly of the philological peculiarities of the text, when his labours were cut short by his unexpected death,—an event ascribable, in a great degree, to his indefatigable devotion to his literary pursuits. He died young; but his first and last works, the Radices Sanscritæ, published at Berlin in 1827, and the first book of the Rig Veda, which will shortly be made public, must ever secure to him a foremost place amongst Sanskrit scholars. A monument has been erected over his grave by his English admirers; and a bust, executed at the expense chiefly of his countrymen who are in England, has been presented by them to his friends on the Continent.

Among other losses which the republic of letters has sustained during the past year, we must not omit to notice that of the Baron De Sacy, as a scholar confessedly at the head of one of those departments of literature which it is the province of this Society to promote. In the language and literature of Arabia the Baron De Sacy has for nearly fifty years been considered as the first of European scholars; and his attainments have excited the surprise and admiration even of the natives of the East. Called at an early period to the Chair of Arabic in the Institute of France, he has also provided for students in every country, in his profound and comprehensive Grammar, and his well-selected and judiciously-illustrated Chrestomathie, the means of becoming conversant with that difficult language. He has also aided most essentially the acquirement of both Arabic and Persian literature by his masterly criticisms and comments in the "Journal des

Savans," and other periodical publications; and by the valuable works which he from time to time edited, translated, or illustrated,—as the "Mahamat Hariri," the "Pand Nama of Ferid-eddin Attar," the "Kalila va Dimna," and the "Alfiyya," which last was published at the expense of the Oriental Translation Fund, and which is a monument of editorial acumen and profound erudition.

Baron De Sacy was, however, not only an Orientalist, but a scholar of varied acquirement and extensive research, as displayed in his Memoir on the Antiquities of Persia, in which he has afforded a key to the perusal of Pahlevi inscriptions; and his introductory dissertation to the Kalila va Dimna, wherein he has traced the literary history of the most widely diffused collection of Apologues in the world,—the Fables of Pilpai,—through all the languages into which it had been translated, with singular erudition and success. His place will not soon be supplied; but he has died in the fulness of years, as well as of reputation.

Having made these few remarks on those Members of whom we have been deprived by death, the Council turn to the pleasing task of considering the actual condition of our numbers. At the Special General Meeting which took place on the 20th of January last, it was stated that our annual average loss in members was usually made up by the addition of new ones. This included Non-Resident Members, who for the most part compound on their election. Correctly speaking, therefore, although our *casualties* have exhibited an average of twenty; yet the increase of Resident Members, contributing annually, has not exceeded eighteen: so that in reality we have hitherto experienced, on an average, a diminution of two contributing Members yearly. In the present year, however, it is satisfactory to find that the loss we have sustained by death has not exceeded eleven in number, and by resignation only six,—in all seventeen; while we have had an accession of twenty-five Resident Members, and eight Non-Resident, who have paid composition; producing, instead of any diminution, an actual addition of 324*l.* 9*s.* to the income of the Society for this year. Besides the Members contributing to the funds of the Society, the claims of other individuals to be enrolled on our list, have extended to seven Corresponding, and two Foreign Members, all of whom have distinguished themselves by their exertions to promote the objects of the Institution; and may, therefore, be calculated on as an addition of strength.

The following exhibits the actual condition of the Society in point of Members:—

Resident Members, contributing to the Funds of the Society	217
Resident Members who have compounded - - - -	162
Non-Resident Members who have compounded - - -	62
Foreign Members - - - - - - - - - -	76
Corresponding Members - - - - - - - -	42
Honorary Members - - - - - - - -	7
	566

Among the donations to the funds, it is with much gratification that the Council adverts to the munificent gift of 1000*l.*, presented by Lieutenant-General Sir HENRY WORSLEY this year, in addition to a sum of 100*l.* which he sent to the Society in the year preceding. In compliance with the wish expressed in Sir Henry Worsley's letter addressed to the Council on that occasion, a portion of that amount was set apart for promoting the objects of the Committee of Agriculture and Commerce, which, together with other contributions from some Members for the same purpose, have not only enabled that branch of the Society to carry into effect for the time the intentions of its formation, but have left in its hands a sum sufficient to render it unlikely that any further immediate aid from the Society's funds will be required.

The Council has much satisfaction in adverting to the success with which this Committee is likely to be crowned by the interest it has excited in India. It has received communications from the Agricultural Societies of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, offering their most cordial co-operation; and from the latter body some specimens of Indian products, apparently novel, have reached the Society, which have been examined and reported on by Professor Royle. The formation of a Caoutchouc Company at Calcutta, and the publication of a work on the cultivation of silk near Bombay, are indications of the exertions making by our countrymen, in that quarter of the world, to promote the objects which come within the scope of the views of the Committee.

To effect the great objects contemplated by those Members who originally suggested the idea of the formation of this Committee, time must be allowed, and a devotion of the personal exertion of many individuals, who are best fitted for the labours required of them, becomes absolutely necessary to bring this project to any beneficial termination. The Committee has now at its disposal a sum of 380*l.*; and the Council anticipates that from the interest excited in the East, and that which it must necessarily excite here, this branch of the Society will ere long realize the expectations of its most sanguine supporters, and eventually become the organ not only of adding reputation to the Society, but also of effecting great national benefit, both to Great Britain and India.

Among other subjects of congratulation the Council cannot refrain from noticing the discovery made by our countryman, Major RAWLINSON, (at present in the army of the King of Persia) of vast tablets existing in various parts of that country, covered with cuneiform inscriptions, some of which contain a thousand lines each. The Society is aware of the efforts which have been made by some of the most learned Orientalists in Europe to decipher these inscriptions,—efforts in which they have only partially succeeded hitherto, but which, through the energy of Major Rawlinson, and the aid of which he will be able to avail himself in the published Transactions of Messrs. Grotefend, St. Martin, Klaproth, Müller, Rask, Bellino, and Eugene Burnouf, may, it is hoped, be crowned with success. A remarkable feature in the translation of a portion of one of these inscriptions, sent

to the Society by Major Rawlinson, is the fact that the genealogy of a race of kings found on a tablet (which records, as he informs us, the conquests of Darius Hystaspes), corresponds very closely with the list of the same line of monarchs given in the seventh chapter of the second book of Herodotus. It is not, therefore, too much to hope that at no distant period, the mysteries of these inscriptions may be developed, and it seems probable these interesting monuments may throw additional light on the ancient history of Persia, beyond what has been transmitted to us by Greek authors.

When intimation was given to MM. Mohl and Eugene Burnouf, two of our Foreign Members residing at Paris, of the discoveries and labours of Major Rawlinson, they liberally supplied the Society with the works which had been published on the subject by the latter gentlemen, in order that they might be sent to the Major; and he has been urgently requested to devote himself, in the first place, to obtain copies of all the cuneiform inscriptions which are procurable in Persia, and to send one set for deposit in this Society.

Such is the impression which Major Rawlinson's researches have created amongst the Oriental scholars in Paris, that he has been elected an Honorary Member of the Société Asiatique; while you are aware he has already been enrolled among our Corresponding Members.

The generous patronage and support which the Oriental Translation Committee has received, has enabled that Institution zealously and effectually to prosecute the designs for the accomplishment of which it was formed, and to present to the public many useful and interesting specimens of Eastern authorship.

Since our last Anniversary the Committee has published two works of much interest,—namely, Professor Wilson's edition of the "Sankhya Kárika," a compendious view of the Sankhya philosophy, with Colebrooke's translation, accompanied by notes and illustrations by the Editor: and the first part of "Histoire des Sultauns Mamlouks de l'Egypte," translated by M. Quatremère,—a work replete with learning and information.

A collection of ancient Sanskrit Hymns, being part of the Rig Veda Sanhita, with a Latin translation by the lamented Dr. Rosen; and a similar work, entitled the "Kumára Sambhava," translated by Professor Stenzler, will shortly appear. M. Poley, also, is engaged upon a translation from the Sanskrit collection of extracts from the Védas, called the "Oupanichats."

The translation of the great bibliographical work of Haji Khalfa, by Professor Flugel, and of the Arabian Chronicle of Tabari, still proceed under the auspices of the Committee.

Among the works recently accepted by the Committee may be mentioned a translation into English from an Arabic History of Moorish Spain, by Signor De Gayangoz; and another translation from the same language, detailing the conquests of Sultán Mahmúd of Ghazni, &c., by the Reverend James Reynolds, Secretary to the Committee.

The Report of the Auditors at the last Anniversary, and that of a

Special Finance Committee, were laid before a Special Meeting of the Society on the 20th of January last. In the concluding part of the latter document it was stated that the very existence of the Society, under actual circumstances, depended upon its obtaining extraneous aid, and relief from the heavy expense of the Society's House; and notwithstanding the discouraging prospect alluded to last year of obtaining public accommodation from the Government, an application has since been made through a new channel, namely, that of the President of the Board of Control, in the shape of a Memorial to our August PATRONESS. It is a source of sincere congratulation to the Council to have to report to the Society, that the Memorial was graciously received by Her MAJESTY, and that the QUEEN was pleased to command the Right Honourable Sir John Hobhouse to communicate with the First Commissioner of Woods and Forests, and also with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, on the subject to which it refers.

The Council has to report that since the last Anniversary it has unfortunately been deprived of the services of Captain HARKNESS, the Society's Secretary. He was for some time so unwell as to be unable to quit his house; and was eventually induced to tender his resignation, on the score of ill health, on the 28th of February last. Colonel BRIGGS, a Member of the Council, has gratuitously undertaken that duty for the last four months, at the request of the Council.

The finances of the Society do not admit of their paying a Secretary, as well as an Assistant Secretary; and the important duty of the former must for some time, at all events, devolve upon the voluntary exertions of one of its Members. The Council have begged Colonel Briggs to allow himself to be proposed for ballot as Honorary Secretary for the ensuing year; and it will rest with you to express by your votes your sense of its recommendation.

The Council has also to announce the resignation of Mr. JAMES ALEXANDER, our valuable Treasurer. That office has been kindly undertaken by Mr. CHARLES ELLIOTT, who presided over the Special Committee of Finance, and who became, therefore, intimately acquainted with the condition of the Society's funds. It will be for the Meeting to evince its approbation of this arrangement by the votes it will have to give on this occasion.

The Council regrets that it has not been able to obtain the entire publication of the first Number of the Society's Journal of this year before the Anniversary Meeting. This has been owing partly to the hope the Council entertained of being able to avail itself of the services of the late Secretary, and partly owing to other circumstances which were beyond its control. The whole of the matter is with the Publisher; and the Number will be ready for delivery at an early period.

In conclusion, the Council have to congratulate the Society in having obtained, by the private contributions of some of its Members, the busts of our late lamented Director, Mr. HENRY THOMAS COLEBROOKE, and of Sir HENRY WORSLEY, the former executed by Sir Francis Chantrey, and the latter by Mr. Behnes.

The following Report on the Financial Affairs of the Society was then read:—

AUDITORS' REPORT.

THE Auditors have the honour to lay before the Meeting their Report upon the Financial Accounts of the Society.

In conformity with the recommendation of the Auditors of last year, steps have been taken to collect recoverable arrears due to the Society; and the sum thus realized amounts to 104*l.* 5*s.* The alteration which has recently taken place in Article LIII. of the Society's Regulations will powerfully operate to prevent the accumulation of arrears in future; and they beg to suggest the expediency of adopting a more simple and complete mode of exhibiting the annual demands and receipts, and the balances due to the Society at the end of each year.

The Receipts of the past year, as per Statement No. I., are as follow:—

From Annual Subscriptions, Admission Fees, and Compositions - - - - -	918	0	0
Donation of Sir Henry Worsley - - - -	1000	0	0
Annual Donation of the East India Company -	105	0	0
Donations and Subscriptions to the Committee of Agriculture and Commerce - -	38	17	0
Dividends on Stock, and Sundries - - -	58	14	8
Balance in the hands of the Treasurer at the end of 1836 - - - - - - -	510	3	8
Making a total of - -	£2630	15	4

From this sum must be deducted the transfer made to the Funds of the Committee of Agriculture and Commerce of a portion of Sir Henry Worsley's donation, being 250*l.*; and other donations and subscriptions to the same Committee, amounting to 123*l.* 18*s.*, leaving a net sum of 2256*l.* 17*s.* 4*d.* The Disbursements of the year are as follow:—

The fixed charges of House, Salaries, Wages, Collector's Commission, and current expenses, amount to - - - - -	767	16	9
Printers' and Publisher's bills, outstanding -	1116	16	0
Repairs of House - - - - - - -	84	0	0
Sundries, including Stationery, Periodicals, Coals, Freight, and Subscription to Horsburgh Monument - - - - -	117	5	5
Leaving a balance in favour of the Society, at the end of 1837, of - - - - -	170	19	2
	£2256	17	4

The large sum charged for printing this year is occasioned by the recommendation of the Auditors of last year having been fully acted up to by the Council, in paying off all outstanding balances; so that we are

informed the Society is at present entirely out of debt, and the sale of the 600*l*. stock, anticipated by our predecessors, has been prevented by the donation so liberally presented by Sir Henry Worsley.

The Auditors have been furnished by the Secretary with an estimate of the probable Receipts and Disbursements for the present year. (*Vide* Statement No. II.)

The Auditors are happy to state, that from the foregoing estimate they see no reason to apprehend any immediate defalcation of funds for ordinary expenses, if the Society continue to add to the number of its Subscribers as it has done within the last twelve months.

Among the arrears due to the Society the Auditors have again to notice those of the Oriental Translation Fund, amounting at the end of last year to 300*l*., but for which the Auditors have not ventured to take credit in the estimate of anticipated receipts.

The Assets of the Society are estimated as follow :—

Value of 1942*l*. 17*s*. 1*d*. three per cent. Consols	1800	0	0
Value of the Society's Library, Museum, Furniture, and Stock of Publications in hand - - - - - - - -	3500	0	0
	£5300	0	0

It remains only for the Auditors to express their satisfaction at the correct manner in which the accounts of the Society have been kept by Mr. ALEXANDER, the Treasurer, and by Captain HARKNESS, the Secretary, up to the time when those gentlemen relinquished office.

WILLIAM NEWNHAM, { Auditor on the part of the Council.

CHARLES AUGUSTUS TULK,
HOLT MACKENZIE, { Auditors on the part of the Society.

LONDON,
10*th May*, 1838.

1837. RECEIPTS.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
From Annual Subscriptions . . .	525	0	0			
Arrears of ditto	93	15	0			
16 Admission Fees of new Members, at 5*l*. 5*s*. . . .	84	0	0			
Arrears of ditto . . .	10	10	0			
Compositions of Subscription .	204	15	0			
				918	0	0
Donation from Sir Henry Worsley . .				1000	0	0
Annual Donation from the Hon. the East India Company . .	105	0	0			
Dividends on 1942*l*. 17*s*. 1*d*. in Three per Cent. Consols . .	58	5	8			
Douations and Subscriptions to the Committee of Agriculture and Commerce	38	17	0			
Three Numbers of Journal sold to a Member	0	9	0			
				202	11	8
				2120	11	8
Balance in the hands of the Treasurer at the end of 1836				510	3	8
				£2630	15	4

1837. DISBURSEMENTS.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
By Rent of House, one year . .				£225	5	0			
Secretary's Salary . .	200	0	0						
Other Salaries & Wages	137	10	0	337	10	0			
Imprests to the Secretary for the payment of Rates, Taxes, Postage, Sundry House-expenses, and Housekeeper's Wages . . .				170	0	0			
Collector's Commissiou . . .				35	1	9			
							767	16	9
Printing the Journal of the Society, Nos. 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7 . . .				623	3	0			
Balance of account for printing the Transactions of the Society, closed June, 1835				399	16	0			
Lithographing Hindú Alphabets .				93	17	0			
							1116	16	0
Repairs of House							84	0	0
Stationery, Circulars, & Bookbinding				36	6	10			
Books and Periodicals . . .				7	8	10			
Diplomas for Foreign Members .				11	17	6			
Petty Disbursements per Treasurer				8	14	6			
Coals				40	5	9			
Freight and Shipping Charges . .				7	7	0			
Subscription to Horsburgh Monument				5	5	0			
							117	5	5
Proportion of Sir Henry Worsley's Donation trausferred to the Committee of Agriculture, &c. . .				250	0	0			
Subscriptions and Donations to the above Committee . . .				123	18	0			
							373	18	0
							2459	16	2
Balance in the hands of the Treasurer at the end of 1837							170	19	2
							£2630	15	4

STATEMENT, No. II.

1838. ESTIMATED RECEIPTS (FIXED).	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
From 115 Annual Subscriptions, at 3*l.* 3*s.*	362	5	0			
99 ditto, at 2*l.* 2*s.* each	207	18	0			
				570	3	0
Annual Donation of the Hon. the East India Company	105	0	0			
Dividends on Stock in the Three per Cents.	58	5	8			
				163	5	8
				733	8	8
ESTIMATED RECEIPTS (*contingent*).						
From Admission Fees of New Members	100	0	0			
Compositions of Subscription, 150*l.*, estimated at ten years' value	15	0	0			
Subscriptions in Arrear for 1837	70	7	0			
Ditto for previous years	66	3	0			
Sale of Publications, &c.	20	0	0			
				271	10	0
Balance in favour of the Society at the end of 1837				170	19	2
				£1175	17	10
Mem. of Outstanding Balances.						
Due by Oriental Translation Fund, for 1835, 1836, 1837, 1838	400	0	0			
Due by Subscribers (of doubtful recovery)	300	0	0			
	£700	0	0			

1838. ESTIMATED DISBURSEMENTS (FIXED).	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
By Rent of House	225	5	0			
Rates and Taxes	50	0	0			
Salaries and Wages	221	0	0			
				496	5	0
ESTIMATED DISBURSEMENTS (*contingent*).						
By Printing two Numbers of the Society's Journal				350	0	0
Balance of Account for Repairs of House				50	0	0
Collector's Commission	38	0	0			
Books, Periodicals, and Bookbinding	50	0	0			
Postages and Carriage	20	0	0			
Petty Expenses per Housekeeper	45	0	0			
Stationery and Circulars	40	0	0			
Coals	20	0	0			
Extra Copies of Journal	45	0	0			
				258	0	0
				1154	5	0
Estimated balance in favour of the Society at the end of 1838				21	12	10
				£1175	17	10

H. S. Græme, Esq. moved, "That the thanks of the Society be returned to the Auditors for their disinterested services; and that their Report, together with that of the Council, be received, and printed in the Society's Proceedings."

The motion was seconded by Archdeacon Robinson, and carried unanimously.

The Right Hon. Sir Alexander Johnston, as Chairman of the Committee of Correspondence, then entered into a comprehensive detail of the proceedings of that Committee for the last twelvemonth.

Sir Charles Forbes rose to move, "That the thanks of the Society be voted to the Right Hon. Chairman of the Committee of Correspondence, for the able and luminous details which he had given to the Meeting; and that he be requested to furnish a written copy of his Report, that it might be printed in the Society's Proceedings."

The motion was seconded by Colonel Goodfellow, and carried unanimously*.

Louis Hayes Petit, Esq., in moving the thanks of the Society to the Chairman of the Committee of Agriculture and Commerce, observed that the importance of that Committee had been so fully stated in the Report of the Council, that it was unnecessary for him to enlarge upon it. The Committee were indebted to the kindness of Dr. Royle, who had undertaken to perform the duties of Secretary; but its commencement and progress were due to the exertions of the Chairman, Sir Charles Forbes, who, notwithstanding the other numerous calls upon his time, had been unremitting in his efforts to demonstrate the existence, in our Eastern Empire, of those resources which it was the object of the Committee to develope.

The motion was seconded by J. Curtis, Esq., and carried unanimously.

Sir Charles Forbes begged to express his acknowledgment for the thanks offered to him, however little he merited them. He felt that the object of the Committee was one of the most important connected with the Society; and he was happy that in resigning the Chair, which he had expressed his intention of doing, he should leave it in the care of the Right Hon. Holt Mackenzie, under whose auspices, and those of Dr. Royle, who were, in fact, the founders of the Committee, he had no doubt that those benefits would be conferred, both in this country and India, which the Committee was intended to promote.

Colonel Galloway moved, "That the thanks of the Society be presented to the Council for their very zealous services during the past year." There was no doubt that on the exertions of the Council the efficiency of the Society mainly depended; and he felt that the Council which had now completed its duties, had performed them in a most efficient manner.

* The Editor is requested by Sir Alexander Johnston to state, that circumstances have prevented his complying with the wishes of the Meeting in time for the present number of the Journal, but that the Report shall appear in a subsequent number.

The motion was seconded by JOHN ROMER, Esq., and unanimously agreed to.

The PRESIDENT then rose and addressed the Meeting. He stated, that it had once more become his duty to take a retrospect of the proceedings of the Society during the past year. He had listened with great interest to the speech of the Right Hon. the Chairman of the Committee of Correspondence. He agreed with him, that the time was now auspicious; and that everything contributed to call upon this country and on Europe to contribute all in their power to the enlightenment of the other portions of the globe. With the exception of the civil disturbances of the Peninsula, we had now been enjoying a profound peace during twenty-three years, a longer period than at any former epoch. In this time general civilization had advanced, and the most favourable opportunities had been afforded of investigating the state of the inhabitants of every part of the world; and more especially of that country which it had pleased Providence to confide to our protection. What had already been done by the Members of our Society, Mr. ELPHINSTONE, Sir JOHN MALCOLM, and by other persons, served to show what might be accomplished by individual energy. The official situation he formerly held had shown him that there existed in the archives of the East India House, a large body of information on very many subjects. Much of this might be given to the public; and he was sure it would be received with interest; the feeling of this country rendered it necessary only to point out where information was to be obtained; it had become superfluous to endeavour to create a desire for information on those subjects. The reception that the public had given to the history of the Euphrates Expedition, and to the travels of Lieutenant BURNES, plainly showed that such a desire was already created, and widely diffused. He anticipated great results from the operations of the Committee of Agriculture and Commerce, over which Sir CHARLES FORBES had so usefully presided, but who was about to resign his Chair to the Right Hon. HOLT MACKENZIE. The work of the Committee was only begun, but its beginnings had excited much interest; and as a proof of that interest, he held in his hand a letter from the English Agricultural Society recently instituted, requesting that the Committee would open a correspondence with them upon all subjects of mutual interest.

The Right Hon. PRESIDENT then adverted to the state of the Society. He was pleased to find that its numbers had increased. The statements they had to-day heard showed that the Society had taken root in the country, and they afforded the best proof of its future prosperity. He then noticed the donation of Sir HENRY WORSLEY; and stated that the Council had thought it right to mark the gratitude of the Society by causing a bust of that gentleman to be executed. They felt at the same time that when a donation had been made for the general objects of a fund, it would not be proper to deduct any portion of that fund for the purpose of showing their sense of the donor's generosity: they thought very properly, that the testimonial should be made by the efforts of individuals; and they had accordingly, as in the case of their late DIRECTOR, opened a subscription for the purpose.

The bust was completed, but the subscription had not reached an amount sufficient to remunerate the talented sculptor, Mr. Behnes, who had liberally offered to take the sum subscribed, however much it might fall below the usual amount given for similar works. It was only necessary to mention this fact: the handsome offer of Mr. Behnes was, in his opinion, a call upon the Society not to allow him to be a loser by his liberality. The deficiency might be supplied by the funds of the Society, but the reasons before given precluded such an arrangement. He heard it proposed that those gentlemen who had already subscribed should double the amount of their subscription; but he thought it much better to double the number of subscribers. He hoped at the next meeting he should be able to make a more favourable report on this affair.

The Right Hon. the President concluded by thanking the Members for their attendance that day; and expressed his most ardent wishes for the success of the Society.

Sir Alexander Johnston rose to move, "That the thanks of the Society should be voted to the President," who not only by his conduct on that day, but by his ever ready exertions, both in and out of Parliament, had amply merited all the gratitude the Society could show.

The motion was seconded by R. Hunter, Esq., and carried unanimously.

The President returned thanks.

Sir Charles Forbes trusted that the forcible appeal they had just heard in favour of the testimonial to Sir Henry Worsley, would not be ineffectual. He hoped that the Meeting would not break up without completing the subscription; and although he was of opinion that the greater number of names of subscribers would evince a fuller sense of the gratitude due to Sir Henry, he would with pleasure contribute to any further sum required: at the same time he would at once undertake to put five new names on the list of subscriptions.

Colonel Miles moved a vote of thanks to the Director and Vice-Presidents of the Society.

J. R. Todd, Esq. seconded the motion, which was carried unanimously.

Sir Alexander Johnston rose, and returned thanks in the names of himself and colleagues.

Richard Clarke, Esq. rose to move the thanks of the Society to a gentleman whose valuable services in the cause of this Institution were so well known, that it was only necessary to mention his name to call forth their approbation. Mr. Alexander had from the commencement of the Society zealously and kindly performed the arduous duties of Treasurer, and had secured the respect and esteem of all who had co-operated with him; and although his place would be filled by a worthy successor, he himself could not but feel regret at his resignation.

W. Oliver, Esq. seconded the motion, which was unanimously agreed to.

Mr. ALEXANDER returned thanks: his resignation would not lessen the interest he took in the concerns of the Society; and he regretted that he felt himself unable to retain an office which, by bringing him in contact with persons whose conduct and abilities he so much esteemed, had always been to him a matter of great gratification.

J. BIRCH, Esq. moved, and B. T. JONES, Esq. seconded a vote of thanks to the Librarian, Colonel FRANCKLIN, which was carried unanimously.

Colonel BRIGGS stated that Colonel FRANCKLIN was unavoidably absent in consequence of ill-health; but that he would undoubtedly feel much gratified at the vote now passed in relation to the duties he had so satisfactorily performed.

Sir GEORGE STAUNTON rose to propose the thanks of the Society to the late Secretary. He was sure that the Meeting would be glad to embrace the opportunity of testifying their sense of the services of Captain HARKNESS, who, in spite of ill-health, had zealously performed the duties of his office. At the same time, he was glad to congratulate the Society on the improved state of its finances: they were all aware that the funds had been in a languishing state; but owing to the energy of Colonel BRIGGS, who had kindly come forward to enable them to look affairs in the face, they had ascertained their real situation, and had wisely and energetically applied a remedy: this had given them an opportunity of laying their actual position before their VICE-PATRON, and through him before Her MAJESTY, in furtherance of their claim to support from the Government. He hoped from the manner in which their Memorial had been received by their gracious PATRON, that measures would be taken to confer some permanent benefit on the Society.

S. H. LEWIN, Esq. seconded the vote of thanks to Captain HARKNESS, which was carried unanimously.

The PRESIDENT rose to propose that the thanks of the Meeting should be voted to Colonel BRIGGS. He regretted the absence of some from whom the proposition should come; but their learned DIRECTOR was on his duties at Oxford, and others were absent through ill-health. He also heard it said, that it was not according to rule to make a vote under the present circumstances; but he thought no rule ought to exist to prevent him from returning thanks to Colonel BRIGGS for the energetic and handsome manner in which he had undertaken and had performed the duties of Secretary since the retirement of Captain HARKNESS. He hoped, therefore, that the Meeting would overlook any informality in the case, and accede to the proposition.

The Right Hon. HENRY ELLIS seconded the motion, which was unanimously agreed to.

Archdeacon ROBINSON congratulated the Society on the occasion. He was happy to afford his testimony to the merits of his friend, Colonel BRIGGS, whom he had long known as a gentleman and a scholar, and who, he was well assured, deserved any honour the Society could confer upon him.

Colonel BRIGGS felt inadequate to return thanks for the distinguished manner in which his services had been recognised by the Meeting. He was far from feeling conscious of the qualifications which the partiality of his friend, Archdeacon ROBINSON, had attributed to him; but such as he possessed he should be most happy to dedicate to the service of the Society.

The PRESIDENT then put to the Meeting a proposition from the Council, to alter Article LIX. of the Society's Regulations, as follows: namely, that the words *November* to *June* be substituted for "December to July."

The motion was seconded by C. A. TULK, Esq., and carried without a division.

LOUIS H. PETIT, Esq. and JOHN CURTIS, Esq. having been appointed Scrutineers, the Meeting proceeded to ballot for the new Members of Council.

At the close of the ballot, the following gentlemen were declared to be elected into the Council: the Right Hon. HOLT MACKENZIE, Sir JAMES R. CARNAC, Bart., Sir RALPH RICE, Colonel BARNEWALL, JAMES EWING, Esq., JOHN FORBES, Esq., Professor ROYLE, M.D., and CHARLES A. TULK, Esq.

CHARLES ELLIOTT, Esq. was elected Treasurer; and Colonel J. BRIGGS, Honorary Secretary, in lieu of JAMES ALEXANDER, Esq., and Captain HARKNESS, resigned.

All the other Officers of the Society were re-elected.

MAY 26, 1838. The Right Hon. HOLT MACKENZIE in the Chair.

JOSIAH HEATH, Esq. was elected a Resident Member.

RICHARD WOOD, Esq. was elected a Corresponding Member.

FRANCIS C. BROWN, Esq., a Corresponding Member, was admitted as a Resident Member.

Professor ROYLE read a paper on Caoutchouc; and also some observations on Butea Kino, with an Analysis of that substance by Mr. SOLLY.

Dr. CANTOR exhibited to the Meeting, through Professor ROYLE, various drawings of Fishes from the Bay of Bengal, and read some Notes upon them; and also upon the Fisheries of that part of India.

JUNE 9, 1838. The DIRECTOR of the SOCIETY in the Chair.

JOHN WILLIAM DONALDSON, Esq., and JOHN WEDDERBURN, Esq., were elected Resident Members.

Professor ROYLE read a paper on the so-called Sarsaparilla of India.

A paper, by Dr. GEDDES, on the Tusseh Silk-worm of India, was read.

June 23, 1838. The Director of the Society in the Chair.

This Meeting had been made Special, for the purpose of submitting to Members the two following recommendations of the Council:—

1. That in Article XXX. of the Society's Regulations, instead of the words, "Eight Members of the Council shall every year be withdrawn," the following words be substituted: "Eight Members of the Council shall go out annually by rotation, &c."

2. That the underwritten Clause be substituted for the second Clause of Article XLIX. of the Regulations: "If he subsequently become permanently resident in Europe, he shall be required to pay an annual subscription of Three Guineas; or in case of his having paid Composition as a Non-Resident Member, he may become a Resident Member for life on payment of Fifteen Guineas."

These propositions were submitted to the Meeting, and carried after some discussion.

The ordinary business of the General Meetings was then proceeded with.

James Weir Hogg, Esq. was elected a Resident Member.

An Analysis of some Indian Oil Seeds, by Mr. E. Solly, was read.

A Letter from Dr. Lush was read, and which accompanied a donation to the Committee of Agriculture and Commerce, of Models of a plough, drilling-machine, harrow, and bullock-hoe, used in that part of the Dekkan which surrounds Poona.

The Chairman announced that the Meetings of the Society were adjourned till November.

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Recueil des Actes de la Séance Publique de l'Académie, &c. 1836. 4to.

By the Royal Society of Literature.

Its "Transactions." Vol. III. Part 1. 1837. 4to.

By the Royal Academy of Sciences of Lisbon.

Memorias da Academia, &c. Tomo XII. Parte 1. 1837. 4to.

By the Linnæan Society of London.

Its "Transactions." Vol. XVII. Part 4. 1837. 4to.

By the Royal Geographical Society.

Its "Journal." Vol. VII. Part 2, and Vol. VIII. 1837—8. 8vo.
Address delivered at the Anniversary. May, 1838.

By M. Fresnel.

His "Seconde Lettre sur l'Histoire des Arabes avant l'Islamisme." Paris, 1837. 8vo.

By the Author.

Rise and Progress of the British Power in India. By Peter Auber, M.R.A.S., &c. &c. Vol. II. London, 1837. 8vo.

By the British Association for the Advancement of Science.

Report of the Sixth Meeting of the Association, held at Bristol in 1836. London, 1837. 8vo.

By the Editor.

Revue du Nord. May, 1837, to January, 1838. Paris, 8vo.

By the Translator.

The *Shajrat ul Atrak;* or, Genealogical Tree of the Turks and Tartars. Translated and abridged by Colonel Miles. London, 1838. 8vo.

By the Author.

A Concise Digest of the Law, Usage, and Custom affecting the Commercial and Civil Intercourse of the Subjects of Great Britain and France. By Charles Okey, K.L.H. Paris, 1837. 8vo.

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"The Suburban Gardener." Nos. 2 to 9, inclusive. 8vo.

By Messrs. Fisher and Co.

Syria, the Holy Land, &c.; illustrated. Nos. 16 to 24. 4to.

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Asiatische Studien von Carl. F. Neumann, Erster Theil. Leipzig, 1837. 8vo.

By M. L. Am. Sédillot.

The following Pamphlets by him:—

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Note sur la Découverte de la Variation par Aboul-Wefa. 8vo.

By the Author.

Contribution to a Natural and Economical History of the Cocoa-nut Tree. By H. Marshall. Edinburgh, 1836. Pamphlet.

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Institutiones Linguæ Pracritæ. Scripsit C. Lassen. Fasciculus III. Bonnæ, 1837. 8vo.

By the Author.

Rudimenta Linguæ Umbricæ ex Inscriptionibus Antiquis Enodata. Particula V. 4to.

An Essay on Persepolitan Arrow-headed Inscriptions. In German. By Dr. Grotefend, F.M.R.A.S. Hanover, 1837. 4to.

By Dr. Tornberg.

His Translation of "Ibn-el-Vardi;" with the Text. Pars Prior. Upsal, 1835. 8vo.

By the Author.

A Pamphlet, in German, on some Coins of Tamerlane. By F. Erdmann. Kasan, 1837. Two copies.

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His "Epitome of the History of Ceylon." Ceylon, 1836. 8vo. Two copies.

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His "Illustrations of Phœnician Inscriptions." Parts 1, 2, 3. Leipzig, 1837. 4to. (Dedicated to the Prussian Royal Academy of Literature, and to the Royal Asiatic Society.)

By the Geographical Society of Paris.

Bulletin de la Société, &c. Tomes VII. and VIII. 8vo.

Géographie d'Aboulféda. Texte Arabe. Par MM. Reinaud et Baron de Slane. 1er liv. Paris, 1837. 4to.

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De l'Affinité des Langues Celtiques avec le Sanscrit. Par A. Pictet. Paris, 1837. 8vo.

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Copy of an Arabic Inscription from China; the characters of which are curiously contorted.

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By the Editor.

Selections from the Bostân of Sâdi. By Forbes Falconer, M.A. Lithog. London, 1838. 16mo.

By Dr. Dorn, F.M.R.A.S.

Programme de l'Examen qui aura lieu à l'Establissement Oriental de St. Petersbourg, &c.

By the Medical and Physical Society of Calcutta.

Its "Transactions." Vol. VIII. Part 1. Calcutta, 1836. 8vo.
Its "Quarterly Journal." Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4. 1837.

By Dr. M. Habicht, F.M.R.A.S.

His edition of the Arabian Nights, in Arabic. Vol. VII. Breslau, 1837. 12mo.

By the Cambridge Philosophical Society.

Its "Transactions." Vol. VI. Part 2. 1837.

By the Directors of the Imprimerie Royale of Paris.

Histoire des Mongols de la Perse, écrite en Persan, par Raschid-eldin, publiée, traduite en Français, accompagnée de Notes. Par M. Quatremère. Tome premier. Paris, 1836. Folio. (Published by order of the King of the French.)

By the Royal Society.

Philosophical Transactions, for the year 1837.
Proceedings of the Society. No. 30.
List of Members, &c.

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His "Essay on the Antiquity of Hindú Medicine," &c. London, 1837. 8vo.

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By the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

The Mahâbhârata. Vol. III. Calcutta, 1837. 4to.
Its "Journal," in continuation.

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The Foreign Quarterly Review. Nos. 35 to 40, inclusive. London, 1837.

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Travels in Arabia. By J. R. Wellsted, F.R.S. Two volumes, 8vo. London, 1838.

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His "Mémoire sur le Systême Monétaire des Chinois." Paris, 1837.

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Le Tá Hio; ou, La Grand Etude. Ed. par M. G. Pauthier. Paris, 1837. 8vo.

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I Monumenti dell' Egitto e della Nubia, &c. Plates to the Work. Disp. xxxiii. and xxxiv. Imp. folio.

By the Statistical Society of London.

Its "Journal." Nos. 1 and 2. 1838.

By the Publishers.

Lane's Translation of the Arabian Nights' Entertainments. Parts 1 and 2.

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By the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India.

Its "Transactions." Vols. III. IV. V. Calcutta, 1837—8. 8vo.

By the Society of Arts.

Its "Transactions." Vol. LI. Part 2. London, 1838. 8vo.

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4. The Bullock Hoe : *panchangul*, Sanskrit ; *kulpa*, Maratha.

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

The substance of the Report made verbally at the Anniversary Meeting in 1838, *by the* Right Hon. Sir A. Johnston, *as Chairman of the Committee of Correspondence, and afterwards written out by him, at the request of the Meeting, for publication in the proceedings of the Society.* (See page xvi.)

It must be obvious to all who have observed with attention the events which have occurred within the last sixteen months, in five very large divisions of Asia, that important changes are about to take place in the situation, opinions, feelings, and manners, of the people of the different countries in each of those divisions. It has, therefore, been the duty of the Committee of correspondence, during the last year, to collect such information relative to the ancient and present state of those countries, as may be useful in regulating the political and commercial relations between Great Britain and each of them in such a manner as to render the different changes, which are taking place in them, equally beneficial to Asia and to Europe. The countries to which the Committee have directed their attention, are, first, those which are situated to the North and South of a line drawn from the Eastern shores of the Euxine to the mouth of the river Amur; second, those which are situated in Asia Minor; third, those which are situated in the peninsula of Arabia; fourth, those which are situated on the different parts of the coasts of Arabia, Persia, and India, into which slaves have been imported for many ages from the Eastern coast of Africa; fifth, those which are situated along the different Highlands which extend from the Himalaya Mountains North, to Cape Comorin South.

The first division of Asia to which they have directed their inquiries, comprehends the several countries situated between the Euxine and the Caspian, between the Caspian and the Lake Aral, on both sides of the river Oxus, and on both sides of the river Amur. The country situated between the Euxine and the Caspian, extending from north to south, about 400 miles, is bounded on the north by the plains of Cuban Tartary, on the south by the river Phasis and Cyrus, on the west by the Euxine, on the east by the Caspian, and is intersected from west to east by the different branches of the Caucasus, which form a natural bulwark between the countries on the north, and those on the south of that great range of mountains, through which there are two openings, celebrated in history by the names of the Iberian and Caspian passes; the peculiar position of this country has rendered it important at all times, and renders it particularly important at the present time, as well in a commercial as in a political point of view—in a commercial, because of the short distance, by the Euxine sea

of its western ports from Odessa, the mouth of the Danube, Constantinople, and the Mediterranean, and of the still shorter distance by the Caspian sea of its eastern ports from Persia, and all the different provinces on the banks of the river Oxus; in a political, because of the influence which the possession of it must give Russia over the people of Asia Minor, Persia, and of both banks of the Euphrates and Tigris. The importance attached by the ancients to the success of the Argonautic expedition, however enveloped in fable, shows the anxiety which traders had, even in the most remote ages, to trade with this part of Asia; the traffic which, within the last few years, has been carried on between Great Britain and Persia, through Trebisond, and the efforts which are making by British merchants, notwithsanding the many obstacles which they have encountered, to open a regular trade with Circassia, show the advantages which it now offers for trade. The sanguinary wars which were waged between the northern barbarians and the Romans, in early ages, those which occurred between the Persians and the Greek empire, in the seventh and eight centuries, and the contest which is now carrying on between the Russians and Circassians, prove the value which has always been and still is attached to it in a military point of view.

The countries which extend from the eastern shores of the Caspian sea to the Aral lake, and those which lie along the banks of the Oxus, were, formerly, an object of interest to Europe from their being the countries through which passed the trade, which was carried on between Europe on the one side, and central Asia, China, and India on the other; they are, at present, an object of equal interest to Europe from their being the countries to which Russia will, probably, be led to extend her arms, and Great Britain her trade, by the common course of events, and from their also being the countries through which Russia is expected to threaten, if not to attack the influence and the possessions of Great Britain in India. The embassy and military expedition, sent some years ago to the Khan of Khiva, and the naval port, established on the south-eastern shore of the Caspian, by Russia, the travels of Lieut. Burnes through many parts of Central Asia, the political and commercial relations established by Great Britain with Cabul, the countries on the Oxus, and the facilities which are afforded by the improvement in steam navigation to those who wish to navigate the Oxus, must daily increase the intercourse between Great Britain and Russia on the one side, and the inhabitants of both banks of the Oxus and all Central Asia on the other, and must gradually introduce amongst them the arts, science, and knowledge of Europe.

The large tract of country which extends along both banks of the river Amur, from its source, till it empties itself into the sea of Okhotsk, that on the north, belonging to the Russians, that on the south to the Chinese, though little known in ancient times, has been an object of interest to Russia, ever since the reign of Catherine II., in consequence of the Amur being the only great river in the neighbourhood of Siberia, and the other possessions of Russia in the north-eastern part of Asia, which flows into the sea in a south-eastern direction, and consequently the only great river, along which the produce of Russian Asia can be with any certainty conveyed to the sea. This circumstance led Catherine, in 1789, to fix on

Oud, not far from the mouth of the Amur, and a port, about two hundred versts to the south of Oud, as two places of trade, and to form the plan, of sending six ships from the Baltic to Kamchatka, to co-operate with a powerful expedition that was to go down the Amur, and take possession of both its banks to its mouth, of opening by this way a trade with Japan, China, and India, and of having in those seas a naval force sufficient to make her authority respected by the inhabitants of the neighbouring countries. Measures are said to have been recently adopted by the Russian government for carrying this plan into effect; if they succeed, they must produce a great and a favourable change, must facilitate the formation of commercial relations between Russia on the one side and Japan and the northern parts of China on the other; must familiarize the people of Japan and China with European intercourse and with European manufactures, arts, and science, and gradually alter their situation, opinions, feelings, and manners.

From all these circumstances, the Committee conceive that Russia and Great Britain, each nation following up what it conceives to be its own interest, must, either by extending their territories and political influcnce, by opening markets and outlets for their produce and manufacture, or by diffusing a knowledge of the Christian religion and European arts and sciences, rapidly produce a great and benefical change in the situation, opinions, feelings, and manners, of the people of all the countries included in the first division of Asia, to which the Committee have directed their attention.

The second division of Asia to which the Committee have directed their inquiries, is Asia Minor: the greatest part of this division is under the government and influence of the Turks, the descendants of a race of people who, in the early period of their history, inhabited the range of mountains called the Altay mountains, which are equidistant from the Euxine and the Chinese seas, the Polar and the Indian Ocean, and which were even then known to be rich in those metals, that are equally useful in peace and war this people occupied that particular portion of the mountains which produced iron in great abundance, and were themselves the principal collectors and forgers of that metal.

It is necessary, in order to form some judgment of the nature of the changes which are likely to occur amongst the inhabitants of this division of Asia, to inquire into the history and character of the Turks, and into the nature of the moral and political changes which are daily occurring amongst them; the Committee have therefore considered the history of the Turks under four heads.

1st. That which relates to their original departure from the Altay mountains, and their subsequent conquest of and settlement in Armenia, to which country they gave the name of Turkomania in the seventh century.

2nd. That which relates to their conquest of Persia, and the extinction of the Caliphat of Bagdad in the eighth century.

3rd. That which relates to the re-union of their power, after it had been for some time divided into small states, under Othman, and the establishment of their empire at Bursa, in Caramania, in the thirteenth century.

4th. That which relates to their conquest of Constantinople about the middle of the fifteenth century, and their becoming a European as well as

an Asiatic power, by acquiring an interest and taking a prominent part in the politics of Europe.

In all the different periods of their history, their courage, their activity, their temperance, and their religious enthusiasm, showed the energy of their character, and enabled them to produce a material change in the internal situation and in the circumstances of the different people over whom they from time to time established their authority.

The Turks, from being masters of Constantinople and the Hellespont, of the sea of Marmora, of the Bosphorus, and of the countries extending along the southern shore of the Black Sea from the entrance of the Bosphorus to Trebizond, of the whole of Asia Minor, and of Mosul, Bagdad, and Bussora, must have a great influence over all the different classes of people in Asia Minor. Any moral and political change in the opinions, feelings, manners, and usages of the Turks, must be followed by a change in the opinions, feelings, manners, and usages of those people. The constant intercourse between the Turks and the English on the one side, and between the Turks and the Russians on the other; the knowledge and observance of the European system of military discipline which the present Sultan Mahmoud has introduced into his army and navy; the improved education which he has given to his military and naval officers; the scientific machinery which he has adopted in his arsenals; the advantage and the power which he derives from the application of steam, both at sea and on land; the use which he makes of printing and lithography; the change which he is preparing in the minds of his people, through the influence of the press; the plan which he has adopted of having resident ambassadors with numerons suites at the courts of England and France; the encouragement which he holds out to the members of these embassies to acquire a knowledge of the nature, object, and effects of the different free institutions which prevail amongst the English and the French, and of the liberal and enlightened opinions upon which their political and commercial systems are founded; the steps which he has taken to abolish monopolies throughout his country; the regulations which he has made for protecting his subjects from the ravages of the plague; the reforms by which he is eradicating the corruption which had got into the different departments of his government; the treaty of commerce which he has concluded with Great Britain; the pains which were taken by his Ambassador, Redschid Pasha*, when he was on his former embassy in England, to become acquainted with every institution which could be useful to his countrymen; the manner in which the Pasha was elected a member of the Mechanics' Institution in London; the circumstance which led the members of the Royal Asiatic Society to propose Sultan Mahmoud to be an honorary member of their society, all prove tho enlightened principles by which he regulates his conduct,—the change

* Sir Alexander Johnston stated to the Society, that in the frequent communications which he had with Redschid Pacha, while he was in England, respecting the history of the Turks, his Excellency had, with the most enlightened views, promised to procure for the Society every description of information which they may require; and to advise the Sultan to send the Society copies of the different works upon the subject, in the libraries of Constantinople, Adrianople, and Bursa.

which has already taken place in the opinions, feelings, manners, and usages of the Turks, and that which may soon be expected to take place in the opinions, feelings, manners, and usages of all the people of Asia who are under the authority or within the influence of the Turkish government.

The third division of Asia to which the Committee have directed their inquiries, is Arabia, a country which extends north and south, from Belis on the Euphrates, to the Straits of Babel-Mandeb, a distance of 1500 miles. The breadth of this country, taking it from Mocha, on the Arabian, to Muscat on the Persian Gulf, may be estimated at 1000 miles. The interior is described as high land, a space between the high land and the Arabian and Persian Gulfs, and Indian Ocean, as comparatively flat. Arabia is generally divided into six great provinces:—those of Bassein and Oman, on the Persian Gulf, those of Hadramant and Yemen on the Indian Sea, that of Hejaz on the Arabian Gulf, and that of Nejd, which contains all the high land, in the interior. The extent in geographical miles is considered to be about four times that of either France or Germany; the population is often estimated at between eight and nine millions of people. By the history of this people from the time of Abraham to the present period, it appears that their general habits, when not excited by any particular religious, moral, or political motive, have always been the same as those exhibited in the present day by the Bedouin Arabs. These habits, however, seem always to have been liable to be rapidly changed by different events. The Arabs, under Mahomed, excited by a desire of being admitted into his paradise, and by a conviction that their lives depended upon fate, became great warriors, and extended their conquests in a little more than sixty years, from the confines of China, east, to Cordova and Seville, west; and from Toulouse, north, to Abyssinia, south. When their power of conquest was checked, the same people who had been the greatest of conquerors, became the most distinguished and zealous patrons of every branch of literature and science, under the Kaliphs of Bagdad, in Asia; under those of Fez and Morocco, in Africa; and under those of Cordova and Seville, in Spain. After their love of science and literature was extinct, they distinguished themselves as enterprising navigators and traders in the Indian seas; and still continue to carry on a very considerable portion of trade in those seas. The Committee, considering the influence which the Turks must have upon those who inhabit the north part of Arabia, that which the Pacha of Egypt must have upon those who inhabit the eastern shores of the Arabian Gulf and the whole southern coast of Arabia, and that which the constant communication between Europe and India, through the Arabian and Persian Gulfs, must have upon the people in the neighbourhood of those seas, feel themselves authorized to conclude that a great change must soon take place in the opinions, manners, and feelings of all the people of Arabia*.

* Sir Alexander has stated to the Society, that the result, when published, of the very able and scientific survey which has been made by Commodore Haines and his officers, will afford the public very late and very interesting information relative to the different places on the southern coast of Arabia.

'The fourth division of Asia to which the Committee have directed their inquiries, is that which contains those countries in Arabia, Persia, India, and the Eastern Isles, the natives of which have been from time immemorial in the habit of purchasing slaves from the eastern coast of Africa. The friends of the abolition of slavery having attained the object which they had in view in the West Indies, and having succeeded in getting slavery abolished in that part of the world, seem determined to direct their attention to getting slavery and the slave trade abolished in the eastern part of the world. As there is every reason to believe that they will succeed in accomplishing that object in the east which they have already accomplished in the west; and that the people of Arabia, Persia, India, and the Eastern Islands, will no longer be able to get slaves from the eastern coast of Africa; it is probable that slavery will, ere long, be abolished in those parts of Asia, and that a change must take place, in consequence of this event, in the manners, usages, and feelings of themselves, and of their descendants*.

* As many persons have, in consequence of the discussions which have recently taken place in both Houses of Parliament, relative to the state of slavery in India, and of the slave-trade in the Indian seas, expressed a wish to know what has hitherto been done in India upon those questions, the following note is added.

From 1802 to 1809 the attention, as well of the people who inhabit the western coast of India, and southern coast of Arabia, as of those who inhabit the coasts of the Arabian and Persian Gulfs, and the eastern coast of Africa, was frequently called to the subject of slavery and to that of the slave-trade, by various measures which Sir Alexander Johnston carried into effect during that period on the island of Ceylon.

In 1809, Sir Alexander having been sent to England by the Goverment of that island, for the express purpose of proposing and explaining to His Majesty's Ministers a variety of different measures which he thought necessary to be adopted for the improvement of the island, and of the situation of the natives, proposed to them, amongst other, the necessary measures for attaining the following objects:—

1st. For putting an end to the slave-trade in the Indian seas.

2nd. For putting an end to the state of domestic slavery on the island of Ceylon.

3rd. For putting an end to the state of slavery which prevailed amongst all the people who belong to the three castes, called the Coria, the Nellua, and Palla castes, on that island.

4th. For putting an end to the right of forced labour, which, as well the Government of the island as certain privileged persons, claimed by ancient usage from very numerous classes of inhabitants on the island.

5th. For inducing the Imám of Muscat to make over the island of Zanzibar on the east coast of Africa to the British Government; and to co-operate with them in preventing the exportation of slaves from that coast to the Mauritius and different parts of Asia.

His Majesty's Ministers having fully approved of these measures, appointed Sir Alexander Chief Justice and President of His Majesty's Council on the island of Ceylon, and invested him with such powers as were requisite for enabling him to carry them into effect. In 1811, on his return to Ceylon, he took out with him a commission for trying and punishing all such persons as might be guilty of the

The fifth division of Asia to which the Committee have directed their inquiries, is that which contains the people who inhabit the high lands in the different ranges of mountains which run from the Himalaya mountains, north, to Cape Comorin, south; who, from being of a more robust make, and less pertinacious about caste, are supposed to be better adapted

offence of trading in slaves, contrary to the act, which had been recently passed declaring that offence to be felony, and on his arrival there, he immediately caused the commission and that act to be proclaimed and published throughout Asia and the Indian Seas. In the year 1813 (see 9th Report of the African Institution,) some men of importance and influence in Africa, Arabia, India, and the Eastern Islands, having been guilty of trading iu slaves on Ceylon, were tried, convicted, and punished, at Columbo, under the above act; a circumstance which excited great interest in the several countries to which the prisoners respectively belonged.

On the 12th of August, 1816, Sir Alexander having previously brought out with him from England a charter under the great seal, granting to the native inhabitants of Ceylon the right of sitting upon juries, and being tried by juries of their own countrymen for any offences with which they might be charged, and also many other rights and privileges of British subjects, all the proprietors of domestic slaves on the island, 763 in uumber, came to a resolution, out of gratitude to the British Government, for having granted to them these privileges, declaring free all children born of their slaves after the 12th of August, 1816, and thereby put an end to the state of domestic slavery, which had prevailed on Ceylon for 300 years (see 11th Report of the African Institution).

In 1817, measures were taken by the Ceylon Government for carrying into effect a plan proposed by Sir Alexander Johnston to His Majesty's Ministers some years before, for gradually emancipating all the people of the Covia, Nellua, and Palla castes, from the particular description of slavery to which they were subject, and in 1834, an order was passed by His Majesty in council, in England, for carrying into effect a plan which had also some years before been proposed by Sir Alexander to His Majesty's Ministers for abolishing the right of the Government on Ceylou, and certain privileged individuals, to exact forced labour from numerous classes of the inhabitants of the island.

Shortly after the trial which has been mentioned as having taken place in 1813, Sir Alexander having had frequent communications with various subjects of the Imám of Muscat, for the purpose of inducing the Imám to co-operate with the British Government in preventing the exportation of slaves from the eastern coast of Africa; and having imparted his views upon the subject of the island of Zanzibar to the Marquess of Hastings, then Governor-General of India, his lordship, some time afterwards, succeeded iu getting the Imám of Muscat to offer to surrender the island of Zanzibar to the British Government, upon certain conditions, of which offer his lordship iuformed Sir Alexander, who, however, on stating the circumstance to the African Institution, found that some obstacles had occurred to prevent the British Government from accepting this offer. Sir Alexander, about three years ago, availing himself of the friendly relations which subsisted between Captain Cogan and the Imám, who is now an honorary member of this Society, wrote a letter through Captain Cogan, to the Imám, and a short time afterwards received an answer from the Imám, declaring that he was anxious to co-operate in every way in his power with the British Government in preventing the exportation of slaves from the eastern coast of Africa.

than the other people of India, to labour for hire in the West Indies, at the Cape of Good Hope, and in Australia. The Committee, judging from the want of labourers, which is now experienced by the proprietors in the West Indies, in the settlements at the Cape of Good Hope, and in Australia, conceive that those proprietors will naturally endeavour to induce the inhabitants of the high lands of India to emigrate from their own country to those different countries in which their labour is required; and should they succeed, which is not improbable, in doing so, it is obvious that a very great change must take place in the feelings, manners, and opinions, not only of those who emigrate from India, but also of those who live in their neighbourhood*.

Considering the importance which must be attached at the present moment by Great Britain, to every description of information relative to British India, the Committee feel it to be their duty to seize the opportunity of expressing their hope that the British Government of India will exert their power, patronage, and influence, both with the natives of the country and with their civil and military servants, in encouraging them to collect, arrange, and publish detailed observations relative as well to the agriculture, manufactures, productions, botany, and natural history of British India, as to the manners, laws, customs, usages, history, and religion, of all the different classes of people who inhabit that vast empire; and thereby emulate the bright examples which have been set them in ancient and modern times, by distinguished sovereigns and governments who have at different times presided over the destinies of all those nations, which can in any way be compared, either for extent of dominion, or for numbers and variety of people and productions, with that extraordinary empire which is now possessed in India by Great Britain. Alexander the Great afforded Aristotle the most ample means for making the collection of facts in natural history, and in every branch of science and literature, from which he prepared those numerous works that still continue, after the lapse of 2000 years, to exercise their influence upon the present age. The republic of Rome assisted Pliny with all their power in obtaining materials for his work on Natural History. The Kaliphs of Bagdad, in Asia, those of Fez and Morocco, in Africa, and those of Seville and Cordova, in Europe, patronized the ablest and most learned men in their dominions, in rescuing from oblivion the science and literature of the Greeks and Romans, and in adding by their own inquiries, studies, and observations, to the knowledge of previous ages in arithmetic, geometry, mechanics, astronomy, medicine, and every department of natural history. The kings of Spain, as soon as they had conquered Mexico and Peru, employed several of their officers in preserving those materials which have enabled many distinguished

* Sir Alexander Johnston called the attention of the Society to the very curious and interesting papers upon the history and manners of the different people of this description, in different parts of India, by Captain A. Mackintosh, of the Madras Military Service; particularly to his valuable account of the Mahader Collies, and of the tribe of Ramooosies; and expressed his hope that Captain Mackintosh will continue his very useful inquiries into this subject.

writers of the present day to illustrate the history of those interesting nations. The late Empress of Russia, Catherine II., devoted large sums of money, and employed all her influence in assisting Pallas to collect local information in every part of her Asiatic provinces, and in writing a detailed account of whatever was remarkable in those provinces; and the Republic of France, even in the midst of foreign wars and internal confusion, when they sent Buonaparte to make the conquest of Egypt, sent along with him a commission composed of some of the ablest men in France, in every branch of science and literature, to procure on the spot, a thorough knowledge of the country and of the people, and have, thereby, enabled the French nation to lay before Europe such a history of Egypt and the Egyptians as reflects the highest honour upon the men who composed the commission, and upon the nation which enabled them to prosecute their inquiries.

No nation in the world ever possessed so extensive a field and such efficient means as Great Britain now possesses for collecting every description of valuable information relative to India. She has territories extending from the Himalaya mountains, north, to Point de Galle, south, through upwards of thirty degrees of latitude; and from the Gulf of Cambay, west, to the frontiers of China, east, through upwards of forty degrees of longitude. Some of them not more than a few inches, others not less than 26,000 feet above the level of the sea, exhibiting the effects of every variety of climate, having in them almost every modification of mineral, vegetable, and animal production; containing in different parts of their population, human beings influenced by every variety of religious opinion, and by every description of laws, manners, and usages; intersected by or lying contiguous to some of the largest rivers in Asia,—the Brahmaputra, Ganges, Indus, Nerbudda, Tapti, Kistnah, Coleroon, and Cavery; and having a sea-coast of nearly 5000 miles in extent, for the most part open to the Indian Ocean. She has a standing army of upwards of 250,000 men, commanded by well-educated and enterprising men, having under their control and direction a body of engineers and medical officers, who have had the most scientific education which can be given to men in their respective professions, and which peculiarly fits them for every description of scientific research. She has establishments upon the most extensive scale for making surveys of the country; she has numbers of draughtsmen, printing-presses, and lithographic transferring machines, for the purposes of recording and illustrating all the information which may be collected; she has a post, which travels night and day, at the rate of four miles an hour, from the banks of the Sutledge, north, to Dewander Head, or Ceylon, south; and from Surat, west, to Sylhet, east, and which can convey information from Calcutta, the capital of British India, to every part of her dominions in the East, within sixteen or seventeen days. An annual revenue of upwards of twenty millions sterling, and a local goverment, unchecked in its scientific or literary projects by any local control. With these advantages, the people of India, on the one hand, may be enabled to communicate to the people of England a thorough knowledge of the productions of their country, and of the nature of their wants; while the people of England, on the other, may be enabled to communicate to the people of India a knowledge of the latest improvements

in the arts and sciences of Europe; and by raising their moral and political situation in their own country, enable them to enjoy and exercise, with honour to themselves and with advantage to their country, all the rights and privileges of freemen and of British subjects. Under these circumstances, the people of India, the people of Great Britain, and the people of Europe, have each a right to expect from the British government in India that that they will enable them respectively to avail themselves of the opportunity which is afforded them by the position in which India now stands with respect to Great Britain, of becoming thoroughly acquainted with every fact which may render this position a benefit, as well to India, and Great Britain in particular, as to Europe in general*.

* Sir Alexander Johnstou stated to the Society, that Lord Auckland, ever siuce he has been Governor-General of British India, has taken the most efficieut measures for attaiuing the literary and scientific objects which the Society have in view; that he has already sent to England some very useful and interestiug communications relative to different parts of the country; and that he has made arrangements for collecting such iuformation as may be wanted relative to all those countries through which the British armies are about to march on their way to Candahar, Ghazni, and Caubul.

REGULATIONS

FOR

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

M.DCCC.XXXVIII.

REGULATIONS

FOR

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

OF THE OBJECTS OF THE SOCIETY GENERALLY, AND OF ITS MEMBERS.

ARTICLE I.—The ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND is instituted for the investigation and encouragement of Arts, Sciences, and Literature, in relation to Asia.

ARTICLE II.—The Society consists of *Resident, Non-resident, Honorary Foreign,* and *Corresponding* Members.

ARTICLE III.—Members, whose usual place of abode is in Great Britain or Ireland, are considered to be *Resident.*

ARTICLE IV.—Those whose usual abode is not in Great Britain or Ireland, being, however, British subjects, are denominated *Non-resident.*

ARTICLE V.—Foreigners of eminent rank or station, or persons who have contributed to the attainment of the objects of the Society in a distinguished manner, are eligible as *Honorary* Members.

ARTICLE VI. The Class of *Foreign* Members shall consist of not more than *Fifty* Members; and no person shall be eligible as a *Foreign* Member who is a British subject, or whose usual place of residence is in any part of the British dominions in Europe.

ARTICLE VII.—Any person not residing within the British Islands, who may be considered likely to communicate valuable information to the Society, is eligible for election as a *Corresponding* Member.

ARTICLE VIII.—All the Members of the Society, of whatever denomination, *Resident, Non-resident, Honorary, Foreign,* or *Corresponding,* must be elected at the General Meetings of the Society, in the manner hereinafter described.

ARTICLE IX.—*Honorary, Foreign,* and *Corresponding* Members, when residing in England, have a right of admission to the Meetings, Library, and Museum of the Society; but are not eligible to its offices, or entitled to copies of the Transactions.

ARTICLE X.—The Literary Society of Bombay is from henceforward to be considered an integral part of the Royal Asiatic Society, under the appellation of the BOMBAY BRANCH of the ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

Article XI.—The Bombay Branch Society shall be considered quite independent of the Royal Asiatic Society, as far as regards its local administration and the control of its funds.

Article XII.—The Members of the Bombay Branch Society, while residing in Asia, shall be *Non-resident* Members of the Royal Asiatic Society; and when in Europe shall be eligible for election as *Resident* Members, in the same manner as *Honorary* Members are elected.

Article XIII.—In like manner the Members of the Royal Asiatic Society, while residing in Europe, are *Non-resident* Members of the Bombay Branch Society; but when within the presidency of Bombay shall be eligible as *Resident* Members, in the manner prescribed by the Regulations of that Society.

Article XIV.—The United Literary Societies of Madras are from henceforward to be considered an integral part of the Royal Asiatic Society, under the appellation of the Madras Literary Society and Auxiliary of the Royal Asiatic Society.

Article XV.—The Madras Literary Society and Auxiliary of the Royal Asiatic Society shall be considered quite independent of the Royal Asiatic Society, as far as regards its local administration and the control of its funds.

Article XVI.—The Members of the Madras Literary Society and Auxiliary of the Royal Asiatic Society, while residing in Asia, shall be *Non-resident* Members of the Royal Asiatic Society; and when in Europe, shall be eligible for election as *Resident* Members, in the same manner as *Honorary* Members are elected.

Article XVII.—In like manner, the Members of the Royal Asiatic Society, while residing in Europe, are *Non-resident* Members of the Madras Literary Society and Auxiliary of the Royal Asiatic Society; but when within the Presidency of Madras, shall be eligible as *Resident* Members, in the manner prescribed by the Regulations of that Society.

MODE OF ELECTING THE MEMBERS.

Article XVIII.—Any person desirous of becoming a *Resident* or *Non-resident* Member of the Royal Asiatic Society, must be proposed by Three or more subscribing Members, one, at least, of whom must have personal acquaintance with him, on a certificate of recommendation, declaring his name and usual place of abode; specifying also such titles and additions as it may be wished should accompany the name in the list of Members of the Society.

Article XIX.—A candidate proposed as a *Foreign* Member must be recommended to the Society by five Members, or more.

Article XX.—The Council may, upon special grounds, propose to a General Meeting the election of any Foreigner of eminent rank and station, or any person who shall have contributed to the attainment of the objects of the Society in a distinguished manner, either by donation or otherwise, to be elected an *Honorary* Member of the Society; and, upon such proposition, the Society shall proceed to an immediate ballot.

ARTICLE XXI.—The Council may propose for election as a *Corresponding* Member, any person not residing in the British dominions in Europe who may be considered likely to communicate valuable information to the Society.

ARTICLE XXII.—Every recommendation of a Candidate proposed for election, whether a *Resident, Non-resident, Foreign*, or *Corresponding* Member, shall be read at three successive General Meetings of the Society. After the first reading, the certificate shall remain suspended in the Meeting-room of the Society till the ballot for the election takes place, which will be immediately after the third reading of the certificate; except in the cases of the Members of the BRANCH SOCIETY of BOMBAY, and the LITERARY and AUXILIARY SOCIETY of MADRAS, who are eligible for immediate ballot.

ARTICLE XXIII.—No Candidate shall be considered as elected, unless he has in his favour the votes of three-fourths of the Members present who vote.

ARTICLE XXIV.—The election of every candidate shall be entered on the minutes of the proceedings of the Meeting at which he is elected: but should it appear, upon inspecting the ballot, that the person proposed is not elected, no mention thereof shall be inserted in the minutes.

ARTICLE XXV.—When a candidate is elected a *Resident*, or *Non-resident* Member of the Society, the Secretary shall inform him of his election by letter.

ARTICLE XXVI.—To an *Honorary, Foreign*, or *Corresponding* Member, there shall be transmitted, as soon as may be after his election, a Diploma, under the seal of the Society, signed by the President, Director, and Secretary.

OF THE COUNCIL AND OFFICERS, AND OF COMMITTEES.

ARTICLE XXVII.—There shall be a Council of Twenty-five *Resident* Members, constituted for the management and direction of the affairs of the Society.

ARTICLE XXVIII.—The Officers of the Society shall form a part of the Council, and shall consist of a President, a Director, four Vice-Presidents, a Treasurer, a Secretary, and a Librarian. The Council will, therefore, be composed of sixteen Members, besides the Officers.

ARTICLE XXIX.—The Council and Officers shall be elected annually by ballot, at the Anniversary Meeting of the Society, on the Second *Saturday* in *May*.

ARTICLE XXX.—Eight Members of the Council shall go out annually by rotation, and eight new Members shall be elected in their places, from the body of the Society.

ARTICLE XXXI.—The Council shall meet once in every month, or oftener, during the Session.

ARTICLE XXXII.—At any Meeting of the Council, *Five Members* of it being present shall constitute a *quorum*.

ARTICLE XXXIII.—The Council shall be summoned, under the sanction and authority of the President or Director, or, in their absence, of one of the Vice-Presidents, by a circular letter from the Secretary.

Article XXXIV.—The Council shall have the power of provisionally filling up vacancies in its own body, occasioned by resignation or death.

Article XXXV.—Committees, for the attainment of specific purposes within the scope of the Society's views, may, from time to time, be appointed by the Council, to whom their reports shall be submitted previously to their being presented at a special, or at an Anniversary Meeting, of the Society.

COMMITTEE OF CORRESPONDENCE.

Article XXXVI.—The Council shall appoint a *Committee of Correspondence*, to consist of a Chairman, two Deputy-Chairmen, twelve Members, and a Secretary; with power to add to its number, and to fill up vacancies occasioned by resignation, removal, or death: four of such twelve Members to go out annually, and be replaced by a similar number from the general body of the Members.

Article XXXVII.—The special objects of the *Committee of Correspondence* are, to receive intelligence and inquiries relating to the Arts, Sciences, and Literature of Asia, and to endeavour to obtain for applicants such information on those subjects as they may require.

COMMITTEE OF PAPERS.

Article XXXVIII.—The Council shall appoint a *Committee of Papers*, to which all papers communicated to the Society shall be referred for examination; and it shall report to the Council from time to time such as it may deem eligible for publication, or to be read at the General Meetings.

FUNCTIONS OF THE OFFICERS.

Article XXXIX.—The functions of the President are, to preside at meetings of the Society, and of the Council; to conduct the proceedings, and preserve order; to state and put questions, according to the sense and intention of the Members assembled; to give effect to the resolutions of the Meeting; and to cause the Regulations of the Society to be put in force.

Article XL.—The functions of the Director are twofold, *general* and *special*. His general functions are those of a *Presiding Officer*, being next in rank to the President; by virtue of which he will preside at Meetings when the President is absent, and discharge his duties. His special functions relate to the department of Oriental Literature, which is placed under his particular care and superintendence.

Article XLI.—The duties of the Vice-Presidents are, to preside at the Meetings of the Society and of the Council, when the chair is not filled by the President or Director; and to act for the President, on all occasions, when he is absent, and when his functions are not undertaken by the Director.

Article XLII.—The Treasurer will receive, on account of and for the use of the Society, all monies due to it, and make payments out of the funds of the Society, according to directions from the Council.

Article XLIII.—The Treasurer's accounts shall be audited annually, previously to the Anniversary Meeting of the Society. The Council shall, for that purpose, name three auditors, of whom two shall be taken from the Society at large, and the third shall be a Member of the Council. The Auditors shall report to the Society, at its Anniversary Meeting, on the state in which they have found the Society's funds.

Article XLIV.—The functions of the Secretary are the following:—

He shall attend the meetings of the Society, and of the Council, and record their proceedings. At the General Meetings he will read the papers that have been communicated; unless any Member obtain permission from the Council to read a paper that he has communicated to the Society.

He shall conduct the correspondence of the Society, and of the Council.

He shall superintend the persons employed by the Society, subject, however, to the control and superintendence of the Council.

He shall, under the direction and control of the Council, superintend the expenditure of the Society. He shall be competent, on his own responsibility, to discharge small bills; but any account exceeding the sum of Five Pounds shall previously be submitted to the Council, and, if approved, be paid by an order of the Council, entered on the minutes.

He shall have the charge, under the direction of the Council, of printing and publishing the Transactions of the Society.

Article XLV.—If the Secretary shall, at any time, by illness, or any other cause, be prevented from attending to the duties of his office, the Council shall authorize the Assistant-Secretary, or request one of its Members to discharge his functions, till he shall himself be able to resume them.

Article XLVI.—The Librarian shall have the charge and custody of all books, manuscripts, and other objects of learning or curiosity, of which the Society may become possessed, whether by donation, bequest, or purchase; and apartments shall be appropriated, in which those objects may be safely deposited and preserved.

ON THE CONTRIBUTIONS AND PAYMENTS WHICH ARE TO BE MADE TO THE SOCIETY BY THE MEMBERS.

Article XLVII.—Every *Resident* Member is required to pay the following sums upon his election, viz:—

Admission Fee.. Five Guineas.
Annual Subscription .... Three Guineas.
(Unless his election shall take place in December, in which case the first Annual Subscription shall not be due till the succeeding January.)

The following compositions are allowed, viz.
Upon election, in lieu of Annual Subscriptions by the payment of....................... Thirty Guineas.
After two Annual Payments...................... Twenty-five Guineas.
After four or more Annual Payments .... Twenty Guineas.

ARTICLE XLVIII.—Any person elected as a *Resident* Member of the Society who shall proceed to the Cape of Good Hope, or to any place eastward thereof, shall not be called on to continue the payment of his Annual Subscription; but his rights and privileges as a Member shall remain in abeyance, with liberty to resume them on recommencing the payment of the Annual Subscription, or paying the regulated composition in lieu thereof.

ARTICLE XLIX.—Any person who shall henceforward desire to become a *Non-resident* Member of the Society, shall, on his being elected, pay an Annual Subscription of Two Guineas, or in lieu thereof, as a composition, the sum of *Twenty Guineas.*

If he subsequently become permanently resident in Europe, he shall be required to pay an Annual Subscription of *Three Guineas*; or, in case of his having paid Composition as a Non-resident Member, he may become a Resident Member for life on payment of Fifteen Guineas.

ARTICLE L.—Any *Resident* Member, whose permanent residence may be abroad, shall be at liberty to become a *Non-resident* Member, should the payments he may have already made to the Society amount to Twenty Guineas, or, on making up that amount, inclusive of all his previous payments; and he shall be free to resume his Resident Membership on recommencing to pay his Annual Subscriptions.

ARTICLE LI.—*Honorary*, *Foreign*, and *Corresponding* Members, shall not be liable to any contributions, either on their admission, or as annual payments.

ARTICLE LII.—Every person elected a *Resident* Member of the Society shall make the payment due from him within two calendar months after the date of his election; or, if elected a *Non-resident* Member, within eighteen calendar months after his election; otherwise his election shall be void; unless the Council, in any particular case, shall decide on extending the period within such payments are to be made.

ARTICLE LIII.—All annual subscriptions shall be paid to the Treasurer on the first day of January in each year; and in case the same should not be paid by the end of that month, the Treasurer is authorized to demand the same. If any subscriptions remain unpaid at the Anniversary Meeting of the Society, the Secretary shall apply, by letter, to those members who are in arrears. If the arrears be not discharged by the first of January following such application, the Subscriber's name, as a defaulter, shall be suspended in the Meeting room, and due notice be given him of the same. The name shall remain thus suspended, unless in the interval the arrears be discharged, until the Anniversary Meeting next ensuing; when, if the Subscription be not paid, it shall be publicly announced that the defaulter is no longer a member of the Society, and the reason shall be assigned.

ARTICLE LIV.—The publications of the Society shall not be forwarded to any Member, whose subscription for the current year remains unpaid.

ARTICLE LV.—The Resignation of no Member shall be received until he has sent in a written declaration, and has paid up all his arrears of Subscription.

OF THE MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY.

Article LVI.—The Meetings of the Society, to which all the Members have admission, and at which the general business of the Society is transacted, are termed General Meetings.

Article LVII.—At these meetings, the chair shall be taken by the President, or, in his absence, either by the Director or one of the Vice-Presidents; or, should these Officers also be absent, by a Member of the Council.

Article LVIII.—*Ten Members* being present, the meeting shall be considered as constituted, and capable of entering upon business.

Article LIX.—The General Meetings of the Society shall be held on the *first* and *third Saturday* in every month, from November to June, both inclusive; excepting on the *first Saturday* in May, and the Saturdays preceding Easter and Whit Sundays and Christmas-day.

Article LX.—The business of the General Meetings shall be, the proposing of candidates, the election and admission of Members, the acceptance and acknowledgment of donations, and the reading of papers communicated to the Society on subjects of science, literature, and the arts, in connexion with Asia.

Article LXI.—Nothing relative to the regulations, management, or pecuniary affairs of the Society shall be introduced and discussed at General Meetings, unless the meeting shall have been declared *special*, in the manner hereinafter provided.

Article LXII.—Every member of the Society has the privilege of introducing, either personally or by a card, one or two visitors at a General Meeting; but no stranger shall be permitted to be present, unless so introduced, and approved of by the Meeting.

Article LXIII.—The admission of a new Member may take place at any General Meeting. When he has paid his admission fee, and subscribed the Obligation-Book, the President, or whoever fills the chair, standing up, shall take him by the hand, and say: "*In the name and by the authority of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, I admit you a member thereof.*"

Article LXIV.—The Obligation-Book is intended to form a record, on the part of the members (by means of the Signature of their names in their own hand-writing), of their having entered into the Society, with an engagement (distinctly expressed at the head of the page on which their names are signed), that they will promote the interests and welfare of the Society, and submit to its Regulations and Statutes.

Article LXV.—The Council may at any time call a *Special Meeting* of the Society, to consider and determine any matter of interest that may arise; to pass, abrogate, or amend regulations, and to fill up the vacancy of any office occasioned by death or resignation.

Article LXVI.—Such Special Meetings shall also be convened by the Council, on the written requisition of *Five Members* of the Society, setting forth the proposal to be made, or the subject to be discussed.

Article LXVII.—Notice of Special Meetings shall be given to every member residing within the limits of the Threepenny post; apprising him

of the time of the meeting, and of the business which is to be submitted to its consideration. No other business shall be brought forward besides that which has been so notified.

Article LXVIII.—The course of business, at *General Meetings*, shall be as follows:

1. Any specific and particular business which the Council may have appointed for the consideration of the meeting, and of which notice has been given, according to Article LXVII., shall be discussed.
2. The names of strangers proposed to be introduced shall be read from the chair; and if approved, they shall be admitted.
3. The minutes of the preceding Meeting shall be read by the Secretary, and signed by the Chairman.
4. Donations presented to the Society shall be announced, or laid before the Meeting.
5. Certificates of recommendation of candidates shall be read.
6. New Members shall be admitted.
7. Ballots for new Members shall take place.
8. Papers and Communications shall be read.

Article LXIX.—The Anniversary Meeting of the Society shall be held on the second *Saturday* in *May*, to elect the Council and Officers for the ensuing year; to receive and consider a Report of the Council on the state of the Society; to receive the Report of the Auditors on the Treasurer's Accounts; to receive the Report of the Committee of Correspondence; to enact or repeal regulations; and to deliberate on such other questions as may be proposed relative to the affairs of the Society.

OF THE PUBLICATIONS OF THE SOCIETY.

Article LXX.—Communications and Papers, read to the Society, shall, from time to time, be published, under the title of *Transactions*, or *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.*

Article LXXI.—All *Resident* and *Non-resident* Members of the Society are entitled to receive *gratis*, those parts or volumes of the *Transactions* or *Journal* published, subsequently to their election; and to purchase, at an established reduced price, such Volumes or Parts as may have been previously published.

Article LXXII.—The Council are authorized to present copies of the *Transactions* or *Journal* to learned Societies and distinguished individuals.

Article LXXIII.—Every original communication presented to the Society becomes its property; but the author, or contributor, may republish it twelve months after its publication by the Society. The Council may publish any original communication presented to the Society, in any way and at any time judged proper; but, if printed in the Society's *Transactions* or *Journal*, twenty-five copies of it shall be presented to the author or contributor, when the Volume or Part in which it is inserted is published. Any paper which the Council may not see fit to publish may, with its permission, be returned to the Author, upon the condition that, if it be published by him, a printed copy of it shall be presented to the Society.

MISCELLANEOUS ARTICLES.

Article LXXIV.—Every person who shall contribute to the Library, or Museum, or to the General Fund of the Society, shall be recorded as a Benefactor; and his gift shall be acknowledged in the next publication of the Society's *Transactions* or *Journal.*

Article LXXV.—No books, papers, models, or other property belonging to the Society, shall be lent out of the Society's House, without leave of the Council. Every member of the Society has a right, between the hours of ten and four, to inspect the books or manuscripts of the Society, and to transcribe exacts therefrom, or take copies; but no stranger shall be allowed the use of the Library without the permission of the Council.

Article LXXVI.—The Museum shall be open for the admission of the Public, on Tuesdays, Wednesdays, and Thursdays, between the hours of eleven and four, either by the personal or written introduction of Members, or by tickets, which may be obtained by Members at the Society's House.

London:—John W. Parker, St. Martin's Lane

LIST OF THE MEMBERS

OF

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

CORRECTED TO THE 31st OF JULY,
M.DCCC.XXXVIII.

Patron:

HER MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY THE QUEEN.

Vice-Patrons:

HIS MAJESTY LEOPOLD I., KING OF THE BELGIANS, K.G.
HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUKE OF SUSSEX, K.G.
THE MOST NOBLE THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY, K.G.
THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR THE AFFAIRS OF INDIA.
THE CHAIRMAN OF THE COURT OF DIRECTORS OF THE HON. THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

Council:

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PROFESSOR H. H. WILSON, *Director.*
THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF MUNSTER, *Vice-President.*
THE RIGHT HON. SIR GORE OUSELEY, BART., *Vice-President.*
THE RIGHT HON. SIR ALEXANDER JOHNSTON, KNT., *Vice-President.*
SIR GEORGE THOMAS STAUNTON, BART., M.P., *Vice-President.*
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THE RIGHT HON. HOLT MACKENZIE.
SIR CHARLES FORBES, BART.
SIR JAMES R. CARNAC, BART., M.P.
SIR RALPH RICE.
MAJOR SIR HENRY WILLOCK, K.L.S.
W. B. BAYLEY, ESQ.
COLONEL R. BARNEWALL.
RICHARD CLARK, ESQ.
JAMES EWING, ESQ.
JOHN FORBES, ESQ.
WILLIAM NEWNHAM, ESQ.
WILLIAM OLIVER, ESQ.
LOUIS HAYES PETIT, ESQ.
PROFESSOR ROYLE, M.D.
CHARLES A. TULK, ESQ.
MAJOR GENERAL JOHN BRIGGS, *Secretary.*
CHARLES ELLIOTT, ESQ., *Treasurer.*
LIEUT. COLONEL WILLIAM FRANCKLIN, *Librarian.*

Officers.

President:

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WILLIAMS WYNN, M.P.

Director:

PROFESSOR HORACE HAYMAN WILSON.

Vice-Presidents:

THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF MUNSTER.
THE RIGHT HON. SIR GORE OUSELEY, BART.
THE RIGHT HON. SIR ALEXANDER JOHNSTON, KNT.
SIR GEORGE THOMAS STAUNTON, BART. M.P.

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CHARLES ELLIOTT, ESQ.

Secretary:

MAJOR GENERAL BRIGGS.

Librarian:

LIEUT.-COLONEL W. FRANCKLIN.

Assistant-Secretary:

MR. EDWIN NORRIS.

Committee of Correspondence.

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THE RIGHT HON. SIR ALEXANDER JOHNSTON, KNT., V.P.R.A.S. F.R.S. F.S.A. F.L.S.

Deputy-Chairmen:

SIR GEORGE THOMAS STAUNTON, BART., M.P., V.P.R.A.S. F.R.S.
SIR CHARLES FORBES, BART.

Committee:

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THE RIGHT HON. HOLT MACKENZIE.
THE HON. MOUNTSTUART ELPHINSTONE.
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LIEUT.-COLONEL W. FRANCKLIN.
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LIEUT.-COLONEL W. H. SYKES.

Secretary:

MAJOR GENERAL BRIGGS.

Assistant-Secretary:

MR. EDWIN NORRIS.

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

Honorary Members.

HIS MAJESTY LOUIS PHILIPPE I. KING OF THE FRENCH.
HIS MAJESTY MOHAMMED SHÁH, SHAHEN SHAH, KING OF PERSIA.
HIS HIGHNESS THE RÁJÁ OF SATÁRA.
HIS HIGHNESS THE PÁSHÁ OF EGYPT.
HIS HIGHNESS THE RÁJÁ OF THE PUNJÁB.
HIS HIGHNESS THE IMÁM OF MUSCAT.

Members,

RESIDENT AND NON-RESIDENT.

N.B.—The names that are marked with Stars, are those of *Non-resident* Members.

HIS MAJESTY LEOPOLD I. KING OF THE BELGIANS, K.G.

Aberdeen, the Right Honourable the Earl of, K.T. F.R.S.
Amherst, the Right Honourable the Earl
Auckland, the Right Honourable Lord
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*Aga Mahomed Jaffer
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Alexander, Henry, Esq.
Alexander, Robert, Esq.
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Anderson, the Rev. Robert

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*Ardaseer Cursetjee, Esq.
*Ardaseer Hormarjee, Esq.
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Auber, Peter, Esq.

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Bethune, Sir Henry Lindesay, Bart.
Blackburne, Major-General Sir William
*Bryant, Colonel Sir Jeremiah, Knt. C.B.
Burke, Colonel Sir John, Bart.
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Babington, William, Esq.
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Benson, Robert, Esq.
Birch, Jonathan, Esq.
Bird, James, Esq. F.R.G.S.
Blackburne, John, Esq.
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Bland, Nathaniel, Esq.
*Blane, David, Esq.
Blanshard, Henry, Esq., M.R.S.L.
Boardman, Major-General Edward
*Bomanjee Hormarjee, Esq.
Bowler, Lieutenant-Colonel John, F.Z.S.
*Bowman, John, Esq.
Bowring, John, Esq. LL.D. F.L.S.
*Bracken, Thomas, Esq.
Brady, John Henry, Esq.
Bridgeman, William, Esq., F.R.S. F.S.A.

Briggs, Major General John, F.G.S. F.Z.S. F.S.S.
Broadfoot, Lieutenant George
Broadfoot, Lieutenant William
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Brown, Francis C. Esq.
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Burt, Major Thomas Seymour, F.R.S.

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Calthorpe, the Right Honourable Lord
Clive, the Right Honourable Lord Viscount, M.P.
*Calcutta, the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of
*Cole, General the Honourable Sir Galbraith Lowry, G.C.B.
Calthorpe, the Honourable Frederick Gough
Clive, the Honourable Robert Henry, M.P.
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Carnac, Major Sir James Rivett, Bart. M.P.
*Colebrooke, Sir William, M. G.
Colebrooke, Sir James Edward, Bart. F.R.S. F.G.S.
*Compton, Sir Herbert, Knt.
*Cunliffe, Major-General Sir Robert H., Bart., C.B.
Cabbell, Benjamin Bond, Esq., F.R.S. F.S.A.
*Caldwell, Major Hugh
Camac, Lieutenant-Colonel John
Campbell, Colin, Esq.
Campbell, Alexànder Duncan, Esq.
Campbell, the Rev. Archibald Montgomery, M.A.
Campbell, John Deans, Esq.
Cartwright, Samuel, Esq.
*Cartwright, Lieutenant Edmund, W.
*Caulfield, Colonel James, C.B.
Chase, Major Morgan
*Chocapah Chetty, Esq.
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Clarke, Richard, Esq.
Clayton, the Rev. Simeon
Close, Major Robert H.
Cockburn, Thomas, Esq.

*Cogan, Captain Robert
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Colebrooke, Edward, Esq.
Colquhoun, Gideon, Esq.
Colvin, David, Esq.
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Court, Major M. H.
Cotton, John, Esq.
Cox, Richard Waite, Esq.
*Craigie, Lieutenant-Colonel John
Cropper, James, Esq.
*Cursetjee Ardaseer, Esq.
*Cursetjee Cowasjee, Esq.
*Cursetjee Jamsetjee, Esq.
*Cursetjee Rustomjee, Esq.
Curteis, John, Esq.
Curtis, John, Esq.

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Doyle, Major-General Sir Fraucis Hastings, Bart.
Ducket, Sir George, Bart., F.R.S.
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D'Arcy, Lieut.-Col. Joseph, K.L.S.
Davis, John Francis, Esq. F.R.S.
Davison, Colonel Hugh Percy
*Dhackjee Dadajee, Esq.
Donaldson, John William, Esq
Doyle, Colonel Charles J.
Drane, Thomas, Esq.
Drysdale, William Castellan, Esq.
Dunn, Captain William
Dyer, Samuel, Esq., M.D.

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Ellis, the Right Honourable Henry, F.R.S. R.G.S.
Elphinstone, the Honourable Mountstuart, F.R.G.S.
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*Eastwick, Lieut. W. Joseph

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Edye, John, Esq., F.R.S.
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Finlay, Alexander S., Esq.
Finlay, Kirkman, Esq.
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Forbes, George, Esq.
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Grey, the Right Hon. Sir Charles E., M.P.
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Goldie, John, Esq.

Goldingham, John, Esq., F.R.S.
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Gordon, Lieutenant-General Benjamin
Grant, Charles, Esq.
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Hobhouse, the Right Hon. Sir John Cam, Bart., M.P. F.R.S.
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Harrison, William, Esq., F.R.S.
Harvey, Henry, Esq., F.R.S.
Haughton, Richard, Esq.
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Heath, Josiah, Esq.
Heming, Dempster, Esq.
Henderson, James, Esq.
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Hodgson, John, Esq.
Hodgson, David, Esq.
*Hodgson, Brian Houghton, Esq.
Hogg, James Weir, Esq.
Hope, Richard, Esq.
Hopkinson, Lieutenant-Colonel Charles, C.B.
*Hormarjee Bhiccajee, Esq.
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Hull, Major-General, C.B.
Hume, Joseph, M.P. F.R.S.

Hunter, Robert, Esq., F.S.A. F.R.S.
Hyde, Charles, Esq.

Inglis, Sir Robert Harry, Bart., M.P. F.R.S. F.S.A.
Inglis, David D. Esq.
Irving, James, Esq.
Iveson, Henry, Esq.

Johnston, the Right Honourable Sir Alexander, Knt., F.R.S.
Jacob, Captain George le Grand
*Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy, Esq.
Jenkins, Richard, Esq. M.P. G.C.B.
Jervis, Major Thomas B.
Jones, Benjamin S., Esq.
*Jugonathjee Sunkersett, Esq.

*Kennedy, Major-General Vans
*Kennedy, Richard Hartley, M.D. M.R.S.L.
Kennedy, Major Charles Pratt
King, Captain Philip Parker, R.N. F.R.S.
King, Lieutenant Colonel Richard
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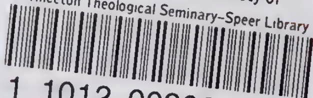
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